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COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY STUDIES IN ENGLISH
AND COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF
JOHN HEYWOOD

**COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
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**NEW YORK
LEMCKE & BUECHNER
30-32 EAST 20TH STREET**

**LONDON
HUMPHREY MILFORD
AMEN CORNER, E.C.**

**SHANGHAI
EDWARD EVANS & SONS, LTD.
30 NORTH SZECHUEN ROAD**

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF JOHN HEYWOOD

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New York

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

1921

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Printed from type. Published October, 1921

To
CHARLES *and* CAROLINE BOLWELL
this book
is lovingly dedicated

PREFACE

THE danger of writing a book on the early sixteenth century lies in the many temptations to digress. Studies in this period are none too plentiful, and the student of Tudor literature feels at times that some of his extraneous facts and interpretations should not be omitted even in the discussion of a subject sharply defined. Such intrusions, however interesting, are not always helpful or valuable. I have, therefore, held myself close to John Heywood and the things directly pertaining to him. I have relied largely upon the authors cited in my notes; without their help this work would have been impossible. To Professors Jefferson B. Fletcher and Charles S. Baldwin I am personally indebted for suggestions and corrections. I am particularly grateful to Professor Ashley H. Thorndike for helpful criticism and careful direction; his guidance and encouragement are responsible for whatever of merit this volume possesses. My greatest obligations, however, are to my wife, Adelina R. Bolwell, whose aid in correcting, indexing, and verifying has been so large as to deserve full partnership in the satisfaction of a completed labor.

Washington, 1921.

CONTENTS

PREFACE	vii
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE	xi
CHAPTER I	
EARLY LIFE. THE COURT MUSICIAN	1
CHAPTER II	
COURT ENTERTAINER AND CATHOLIC PARTISAN	18
CHAPTER III	
THE QUEEN'S FAVORITE	42
CHAPTER IV	
THE CATHOLIC EXILE	64
CHAPTER V	
✓ HEYWOOD'S DRAMATIC WORKS	80
CHAPTER VI	
HEYWOOD'S NON-DRAMATIC WORKS	123
APPENDICES	157
BIBLIOGRAPHY	175
INDEX	183

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

- 1497 before Apr. 18, Heywood born in London.
- 1509 to 1513/4, choir boy in Chapel Royal?
- 1514 before Sept. 29, King's scholar? at Oxford.
Sept. 29 to Jan. 1, 1515, retained at court, salary 8*d.* per day. Service not specified, perhaps as musician.
- 1515 to 1519, no records, but probably at court in musical service.
- 1519 June 24 to Sept. 29, quarterly wages 100*s.* No duties specified, most probably as singer.
- 1520 Aug. 1, quarterly wages 100*s.* as court singer.
Dec., quarterly wages 100*s.* as court singer.
12th Henry, undated, quarterly wages 100*s.* as court singer.
- 1521 End of record of King's Book of Payments. Dramatic activities?
Feb. 4, and Apr., royal grant of annuity of 10 marks from manors of Maxey and Torpel, Northamptonshire.
Sept. 29, given "in consideration of his true and faithful services" income not to exceed 7 marks, from manor of Haydon, Essex.
- 1525 spring, Maxey and Torpel taken from Heywood and given to Duke of Richmond.
- 1526 17th Henry, undated, receives 6*li.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, termed "player of the virginals."
- 1528 Sept. 29, pension of 10*li.* per year, player on the virginals.
This income apparently paid regularly until 1550.
Nov. 8, appointed steward of king's chamber, 10*li.* per year.
- 1529 or earlier? married to Eliza Rastell.
- 1530 Ellis Heywood born.
- 1533 New Year's gift of plate from the king.
? *Gentleness and Nobility* printed by John Rastell.
William Rastell prints *Pardoner and Friar, Play of Love, Play of the Weather*.
- 1534 Feb. 12, William Rastell prints *John, Tib, and Sir John*.
Feb. ? writes poem to Princess Mary.

- 1535 Jasper Heywood born.
- 1537 Jan., Heywood's servant brings Mary's regals from London to Greenwich. Heywood playing occasionally in Mary's musicales?
- 1538 Mar., plays an interlude with "his children" before Princess Mary.
- 1539 Feb., presents mask of Arthur's Knights at court.
Corresponds with former abbot of St. Osith's monastery about his land.
- 1540 Nov. 21, king grants lease on Broke Hall, Essex, for 21 years, at 10*li*.
Elizabeth Heywood (Donne) born. Two other children, no dates mentioned: Joanna Heywood (Stubbs) and Elizabeth Heywood (Marvin).
- 1541 Sept. 12, loses tenure on property in Woodstreet.
- 1543 spring, associated with Bishop of Winchester and Germain Gardiner in plot to overthrow Archbishop Cranmer.
to 1544? imprisoned.
- 1544 Feb. 15, indicted for treason.
Apr. 12, property attainted and confiscated.
Apr. 24, referred to as traitor; awaiting sentence.
June 26, receives full and general pardon, with restoration of lands and annuities.
July 6, makes public confession and recantation at Paul's Cross.
- 1545 July 5, holds two estates in Dorset.
Dec. 27, grant in fee concerning other tenures of land.
- 1546 Mar., holds priory land in Leicestershire.
T. Berthelet prints *Dialogue of Proverbs concerning Marriage*.
- 1552 Feb. 13, receives 30*s*. for services at entertainment for Princess Elizabeth; musical or dramatic?
Mar. 4, appointment as steward of king's chamber renewed, salary increased to 40*li*.
- 1553 Jan., prepares a play for Edward VI, postponed until Easter because of king's illness.
1st Mary, receives 50*li*., perhaps as personal reward, not as regular salary.

- Sept. 30, sits in pageant at Paul's Churchyard, makes oration in Latin and English to Mary's coronation procession.
- 1554 fall, writes verses on marriage of Philip and Mary.
Dec. 29, receives lands in Kent from Mary.
- 1555 Apr. 5, appointment as steward of queen's chamber renewed salary increased to 50*li*.
- 1556 after Mar., T. Powell prints *The Spider and the Fly*.
- 1558 Nov. 12, resigns position as steward to queen; in place receives lease of Bolmer manor for 40 years, and other lands in Yorkshire.
- 1559 Aug. 7, entertainment for Elizabeth at Nonesuch.
- 1562 *Works* published. Editions of *Proverbs and Epigrams* have appeared before this, also the *Four P's*.
? Leaves England for exile.
- 1564 Aug. 8, mentioned in Rastell's will, probably then living in Malines.
- 1571 Mar. 6, Privy Council order to confiscate his lands in Kent.
- 1574 Dec. 20, Th. Wilson sees Heywood at Malines regarding sanction to return to England.
- 1575 Apr. 18, writes to Burghley from Malines concerning his poverty and stoppage of his income from England.
- 1576 Admitted into Jesuit College at Antwerp, through efforts of Ellis Heywood.
- 1578 Apr., disorders at Antwerp; Heywood and priest try to leave for Cologne, but are ordered back to monastery. Pentecost, made prisoner with Jesuits by Protestant mob.
May 26, refugee, to Louvain.
- Oct., Ellis Heywood dies.
- After June ? John Heywood dies, at Louvain.

CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE. THE COURT MUSICIAN

SOME men enjoy the faculty of living currently. Many a one has so engaged with life as to win the somewhat redundant distinction of being "typical of his age," or "a man of his own times." The idea behind such description is that these men related themselves to passing events. If they did not make history, history made them. They plunged, or were swept, into the stream; strength and action kept them afloat. They did not retire into secluded shallows where quiet and safety invited.

Literary criticism generally tends to emphasize the achievements of those who labor in calm waters. It seems to prefer to view its heroes pen in hand, in the tranquillity of the study, transforming life into letters. Thus John Heywood has been conventionally described as a singer, player on the virginals, and the writer of a few short interludes; as though an elaboration of such data would account sufficiently for his personality, so that the man could be dismissed and his writings more closely studied.

But against this incidental glance at Heywood should be contrasted the essential events of his life—his intimate association with the Majesties of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. He was a Catholic partisan of the strongest group, one who carried on the activities of his wife's uncle, Sir Thomas More, his personal friend, and one who lived to tinge the Protestantism of his illustrious grandson, John Donne. He was a crafty enemy of Archbishop Cranmer's, who nearly had him executed for defying the king's ecclesiastical imperialism. He was the favorite and intimate of Queen Mary, and lived to see Cranmer die, using the fate of

his antagonist to adorn a tale, and becoming himself an exile in old age, a participant in the bloody struggle of the Reformation in the Low Countries, dying from the shock of riot after eighty years of ardent living. The Heywood of such activities deserves more attention than the salaried singer and instrumentalist can claim. He had lived much beyond the confines of the music chamber and the banquet hall.

Heywood's father and mother are non-existent in any written history of his life. Several suggestions have been ventured concerning his father, but they are frankly guesses made from a choice of individuals who were employed at court early in the sixteenth century, thus accounting for John Heywood's early service in the royal household. William Heywood, yeoman of the guard, who received sixpence a day from Henry VIII, has been suggested as his father.¹ Another William Heywood, the king's carpenter and joiner, is proposed. He made the properties used in court masks, and is mentioned in the king's service not only in 1514, but at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and in 1520 when he made spears for the king's jousts.² A certain John Haywod was employed as agent of Sir Adrian Fortescue, to whom he makes report concerning soldiery in the country, under date of July 1, 1523.³ Also another John Haiwode, yeoman of the crown, received money for news "from the earl of Surrey out of Ireland," in 1520.⁴ There is nothing definite, however, which urges the acceptance of any of these men as Heywood's father.⁵

¹ Sharman, *Proverbs of Heywood*, xxxvi ff.

² Brewer, *Letters & Papers Hen. VIII*, v. III, p. 1539.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 1317. Another reference to this man is found v. IV, pt. III, p. 3116.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 499.

⁵ Ant. aWood has mentioned another Heywood in the following note:

"Principals of Old Halls:

(Aula) Pury vel Pery:

.....

Mr John Copland successit Mr Orton, 1510

Heywood was born in the city of London. Some modern biographies of Heywood assign North Mims, near St. Alban's, Hertfordshire, as his birthplace. This is done by misapplying the words of Henry Peacham, who in his *Thalia's Banquet* (1620) says:

I think the place that gave me first my birth,
The genius had of epigram and mirth;
There famous *More* did his Utopia write,
And there came *Heywoods* Epigrams to light. ⁶

In *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622), Peacham also writes:

In the time of Edward the sixth lived Sternhold, whom King Henry his father, a little before had made groome of his Chamber, for turning of certaine of Davids Psalmes into verse: and merry Iohn Heywood, who wrote his Epigrammes, as also Sir Thomas More his Vtopia, in the parish wherein I was borne; where either of them dwelt, and had faire possessions. ⁷

Peacham was born at North Mims in 1576, at the close of Heywood's life. He says nothing about Heywood's birthplace; simply that he wrote his epigrams at North Mims, where he owned land. The Mores and Rastells, it is known, owned property at North Mims, and Heywood's son, Ellis, was given land there by William Rastell, in 1565. It is almost certain that Heywood acquired his possessions at North Mims not by birth and family inheritance, but by his marriage to Eliza Rastell, who evidently was given some of her father's holdings as a dowry. ⁸ Langbaine, then, is strictly correct in saying that Heywood "liv'd at North-mims in

Mr . . . Heywode, 1511

Mr John Coplande obiit, 1514."

Pery: Perry Hall, St. Michael's Parish.

Survey of Antiquities of Oxford, ed. Clark, vol I, Appendix B, p. 598, 2nd column.

⁶ See also Park, Warton *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, v. III, p. 371.

⁷ Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman*, ed. Gordon, p. 95.

⁸ See Appendix No. 4, p. 163. Also p. 23.

Hertfordshire, near St. Albans," and that he was a neighbor of Sir Thomas More's.⁹ Unfortunately, however, this was misapplied by many subsequent writers who suspected that if he lived there he perhaps was born there.

Bishop Bale, a contemporary of Heywood's, refers to him as "civis Londinensis," and this residence in London is mentioned frequently in the State Papers relating to him, which will be considered later. John Pitts, or Ioannes Pitseus, a close friend of Heywood's son, one who undoubtedly knew the father in his old age, is more definite about his birthplace. "Ioannes Hayuodus, Londini in Anglia natus," he says.¹⁰ Anthony aWood, who made scholarly efforts to be accurate, says, "John Heywood . . . was born in the city of London," and Fuller makes the same statement.¹¹ There is no reference to North Mims as Heywood's birthplace before Langbaine wrote in 1691, and even he did not imply that Heywood was born there. This problem, then, is not difficult, nor is it worth further discussion.

The date of his birth can be determined perhaps within a few months. It is generally stated as about 1497. Heywood's own statement should not be received sceptically, since there is no other accurate information available. In a letter to Lord Burghley, dated April 18, 1575, he says he is seventy-eight years of age.¹² This is a definite figure. Heywood at that time mentioned his advanced age in such a manner as to claim sympathy, and he might well have exaggerated slightly and said that he was nearly eighty. But since he was careful to be exact we may take him at his word. He was born, therefore, early in the year 1497, most likely sometime before April 18th. The Jesuit historian Droeshout, writing of

⁹ Langbaine, *Acct. of Eng. Dram. Poets*, p. 253.

¹⁰ Pitseus, *Relationum Historicarum*, etc., p. 753. See Appendix No. 5, p. 168.

¹¹ Ant. aWood, *Ath. Oxon.*, v. I, p. 348. Fuller, *Worthies*, v. II, p. 382.

¹² See p. 69.

events which occurred in the year 1578, refers to him then as being a "vieillard octogénaire," also, "ce digne vieillard."¹³ If Heywood were born in the spring of 1497, he would have been eighty-one in April, 1578; but the term octogenarian applies as fitly to a man of eighty-one as it does to one of eighty. There is no other information regarding the year of his birth.

The first definite record of Heywood comes from his eighteenth year. He is at court, retained by a special fee from Henry VIII. The entry in the *King's Book of Payments*, dated Jan. 6, 1515, reads, "And to John Haywoode (and several others) every of them at viij*d* the day."¹⁴ This is payment for service rendered during the last quarter of 1514, from Sept. 29th to New Year's, but the entry does not tell what Heywood did or in what way he served the king.

Biographers since Sharman generally have thought that as a boy he entered the Chapel Royal and was a chorister there. If the assumption is correct, this must have been about 1509, when he was twelve years of age and in good soprano voice. There is no mention of the names of the children in the Chapel Royal at this time, and so the point cannot be sustained.¹⁵ In fact, Heywood might just as probably have sung in Wolsey's chapel, or in the St. Paul's choir. In any of these three organizations he would have been brought under the notice of the king. If Heywood was a chorister he probably showed an early promise of the remarkable musical gifts he later possessed. The king was careful to keep his own choir well stocked with the best boy singers and actors. An interesting example of this is seen in his command that Cardinal Wolsey deliver up to Master Cornish one of his best singers for

¹³ See p. 72.

¹⁴ *Household Book of Hen. VIII, 1509-1518, Add. Mss.* 21481, f. 177b. Also Sharman, *Proverbs of Heywood*, xxxvii; and C. Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 78; and Collier, *Annals*, v. I, p. 74.

¹⁵ A discussion of Heywood's connection with the Chapel Royal and other choral institutions will be found on p. 46 ff.

service in the Chapel Royal in 1518, and the stern repetition of the order when hesitation was shown.¹⁶

The surmise that the young Heywood was attached to the Chapel Royal helps in a way to explain the short university education which Anthony aWood says Heywood received. The probable manner in which he went to Oxford is suggested by Sharman. "At the time, then, that Heywood entered the chapel choir, a restricted yet honourable career was presented to a youth of musical proficiency. He might at least aspire to become an 'Episteller,' or, taking holy orders, would in due course arrive at the full dignity of King's chaplain. But as a soprano voice was far more highly valued in this establishment than either eloquence or scholarship, an outlet was found for elderly choristers by draughting them off, at his majesty's expense, to the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge. Of this privilege we must suppose Heywood to have availed himself, as we find him to have been entered as a student at Broadgate, now Pembroke College, Oxford." ¹⁷ The information about Heywood's university residence is given by aWood; "He laid a foundation of learning in this university (Oxford), particularly, as it seems, in that ancient hostile called Broadgate's in St. Aldgate's parish." ¹⁸ If he was in the Chapel Royal, it is more than likely that he went to the university on a royal scholarship about the age of sixteen or seventeen, when his voice broke. Such provision for the singing-boys is described in a manuscript of the reign of Edward IV.

And when any of these children comene to be xviiij years of age, and their voices change, ne cannot be preferred in this chappelle, the nombere being full, then if they will assente, the Kynge assynethe them to a College of Oxeford or Cambridge of his foundation, there

¹⁶ Brewer, *Letters & Papers Hen. VIII*, v. II, Nos. 4024, 4025, 4044, 4055. Also C. Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 119.

¹⁷ Sharman, *Proverbs of Heywood*, xxxix.

¹⁸ Ant. aWood, *Ath. Oxon.*, v. I, p. 348.

to be at fynding and studye both suffytyently, tylle the King may otherwise advaunce them.¹⁹

Heywood did not remain at the university very long, so aWood says. "The crabbedness of logic not suiting with his airy genie, he retired to his native place." As Broadgates, or Pembroke, College did not keep records or registers of students before 1570, we know nothing definite about the date of his residence there, or the reason for leaving before the completion of his studies.²⁰

Heywood perhaps did not wait until his eighteenth year to enter Oxford, the age mentioned in the Edward IV manuscript above. That is somewhat late for a change of voice. Sixteen or seventeen was the usual age for young men to enter at that time, and they were referred to frequently as "boys." Later in the century Catholic youths were sent to the great universities as young as ten, in order that they might complete their studies before they were old enough to swear the oath of allegiance.²¹ Heywood probably attended the university about the age of seventeen, and remained there a short time, perhaps only part of a term. When he left Oxford he entered the king's service, as we have seen, in the fall of 1514, at a salary of eightpence a day. If he was a

¹⁹ Ms. Harleian, No. 293642. Also Sharman, *Proverbs of Heywood*, xxxix.

²⁰ Heywood's familiarity with the Oxford colleges has been noticed in his epigrams:

Alas! poor fardingales must lie in the street:
To house them, no door in the city made meet.
Since at our narrow doors they in cannot win,
Send them to Oxford, at Broadgates to get in.
(Epigr. 455)

Testons be gone to Oxford, God be their speed!
To study in Brazennose, there to proceed!
(Epigr. 463)

Jerome, in Heywood's *Witty and Willess*, is a schoolman and perhaps represented the Oxford student.

²¹ Swoboda, *Heywood als Dramatiker*, p. 11. Also Jessopp, *Donne*, p. 11.

king's scholar he doubtless obtained permission from Henry to leave the university, and found employment immediately in the royal household. At this time, in 1514, the choir was newly organized and from this date on it became an elaborate musical and dramatic institution. New talent was sought and perhaps Heywood was concerned in this reorganization. The fact that his duties and services are not specified in the 1515 payment leaves the matter open for unlimited speculation. It has also been suggested that at this period Heywood became intimate with Sir Thomas More, and that he knew him when the *Utopia* was written.²²

In any case, Heywood at this time, if not earlier, began his career as court musician. He was one of the court singers for many years, and in his lyric, "Longe have I bene a singinge man," he himself tells us that he has sung all parts, high and low, treble, tenor, counter, and bass. This is almost sufficient to convince us that he was a chorister as a boy, singing treble, and, as we know definitely, a "low" or adult singer many years at court.²³

After 1515 there is no reference to Heywood in any extant records until the year 1519, when he was still at court. There is no reason to believe that he did not continue in the royal service during these intervening years, perhaps in some musical or dramatic capacity, possibly both. In these four years he had grown in favor. At the close of the Michaelmas term, up to Sept. 29, 1519, he received an allowance of 100s.²⁴ The entry, carrying payment from the beginning of the quarter, June 24, 1519, reads, "Item John haywoode quarter wages at xxli. by the yere . . . Cs." As in the case of the earlier entry, no duties are specified, but here we are not left in doubt, for the next record of this payment, dated Aug. 1,

²² Swoboda, pp. 12-3.

²³ See page 130. Also Swoboda, p. 14.

²⁴ *King's Book of Payments, Hen. VIII*, Exch. T. of R. Misc.⁶ Books, v. 216, p. 94, p. 201. Also *D. N. B.*; and C. Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 78.

1520, reads, "Item for John Haywoode synger wages . . . Cs." This is the first reference we have to Heywood as a singer, but it is impossible to doubt that the payment in 1519 was for the same singing service. Very probably the duties of a singer, in his case, involved dramatic performances at court. The amount is paid regularly thereafter, for the same entry occurs under date of December, 1520, also in the undated record, 12th Henry VIII, 1520.²⁵ The payments were made up to the end of the record, 1521. In these distinct records there is no mention whatever, nor any hint shown, of Heywood's connection with the Chapel Royal.

It has been generally remarked that he began his dramatic writing about the year 1520. This statement is made solely because of one reference in what was regarded as his earliest work, the *Pardoner and Friar*, which mentions Pope Leo X as being then alive.²⁶ The date of this interlude will be discussed later. If it was written at this period, however, the date is no evidence against his authorship. A witty young man of twenty-three could easily have written this simple little piece, and Heywood would not have lacked skill in the requirements of dramatic composition at this time. His duties as court singer might well have encouraged such work, for in all probability the singer was an occasional actor.

By this time he doubtless had made himself valuable to the pleasure-loving king. Bishop Bale's interesting account of him says that he was diligent in music and in poetry in his English tongue, and that he spent much time in conducting merry dances after court revels and banquets, and in presenting pageants, plays, masks, and other "disportes."²⁷ A man who could do all these things would be sure to win the approbation of Henry, who would not fail to appreciate the value of

²⁵ Brewer, *Letters & Papers Hen. VIII*, v. III, pp. 407-8, 1533.

²⁶ Chambers, *Med. Stage*, v. II, p. 443. Brandl, *Quellen*, xlix ff. Collier, *Annals*, v. II, p. 385, etc.

²⁷ See page 58.

a court wit, a singer and musician, and one who could assist him in his dramatic entertainments and royal revels. Nearly all the early accounts of Heywood speak of the favors which the king bestowed upon him. "He was in much esteem with King Henry VIII for the mirth and quickness of his conceits," says a Wood, who took his passage from the *Arte of English Poesie* (1589), which was written at a time when Catholics were to be discounted in all things.²⁸ Harington says that Heywood "escaped hanging with his mirth," or rather by the favor in which he was held by the king.²⁹ In addition to the testimony of these writers, the records of the generous grants and payments given him by the king show the distinction Heywood enjoyed.

There is no later reference to Heywood as a paid singer. We may assume that his duties became more and more varied, especially during this period of dramatic writing, but there could have been no sudden, radical change in his services. In compensation for his additional efforts he received an income greater than that which could have been given to a court singer for services so simple and occasional, and in this increase of income can be seen the king's growing friendliness.

In February, 1521, Heywood, who is termed "the King's servant," received from Henry an annuity of ten marks, derived from the manors of Maxey and Torpel, Northamptonshire. Thomas Farthing, the former holder of this land, had died, and the new grant was signed at Westminster, Feb. 4th. There was a technical flaw in this patent, and in April, 1521, it was declared invalid and a new grant was made, to be effective upon the surrender of the earlier one, the annuity to

²⁸ Ant. a Wood, *Ath. Ozon.*, v. I, p. 348.

Arte of English Poesie says, "Afterward . . . came . . . John Heywood, the Epigrammatist, who for the mirth and quicknesse of his conceits more then for any good learning was in him came to be well benefited by the king." G. Gregory Smith, *Eliz. Critical Essays*, v. II, p. 63. ⁹

²⁹ See page 40.

be received "during the pleasure of the king."³⁰ These ancient manors, situated near Peterborough, were really of one property, Maxey, held from the early fifteenth century through the Torpel descent. It came to the hands of Henry from Margaret, countess of Richmond.

But Heywood did not enjoy this property long. Early in 1525 the king bestowed this manor upon his illegitimate son Henry, duke of Richmond, when that five-year old boy was showered with many other livings and honors. Heywood probably held the grant from 1521 until this disposition in 1525. The youthful duke of Richmond died shortly after this, and in 1527 five pounds of the income from the manors of Maxey and Torpel were given by the king to Blanche, wife of Twyford, sergeant at arms.³¹ It is unlikely that Heywood suffered any disfavor in being thus deprived of his manors. The king was compelled to slight many faithful servants in order to afford the liberal gifts he made to his son. This grant of land was the first of many which Heywood received from the crown during his long life.

The second gift from Henry followed quickly on the heels of the first. Although Heywood lost Maxey and Torpel, he had at least one source of income during this period. He received Maxey in February, 1521. On September 29 of the same year, Henry gave him, "in consideration of his true and faithful services," the income from the manor of Haydon, in Essex, which had reverted to the crown through the attainder of Edward, duke of Buckingham. The income was not to exceed seven marks annually and was to be held, during royal pleasure, for Heywood's life and afterwards by his legitimate heirs.³²

Thus Heywood received two manorial grants in the year 1521, the year in which records of his salary as a court singer

³⁰ Brewer, *Letters & Papers Hen. VIII*, v. III, pp. 445, 479.

³¹ *Ibid.*, v. IV, pt. I, p. 673; pt. II, No. 2839 (21).

³² Brit. Mus. Ms. No. 24844, ff. 38v, 39. See Appendix No. 2, p. 159.

vanish. These grants, however, represent increased income, and undoubtedly increased royal favor. Just as John Kite, sub-dean of the Chapel and one of Henry's favorite entertainers, was made bishop during this period of royal generosity, so Heywood was made at least a landed gentleman.

Most of Heywood's dramatic writings are assigned to this period. Unfortunately, however, nothing definite is known about his connection with any of the dramatic establishments at the court. He has been suggested as the dramatic director of the Chapel Royal, of the choir school of St. Paul's and some have proposed that he was the leader of a professional company of independent actors, either adults or children.³³ One more possibility might be suggested; that Heywood was associated with the king's interlude players, of which there were two sets retained at court. He might have directed them almost at any time during his court life, and have written some of his interludes for them to present, such as the *Four P's* and *John, Tib, and Sir John*. Some of his pieces probably were written for boy actors, but the great differences we find in his plays strengthen the assumption that he wrote for different actors, as well as for various audiences and times.

The next record of Heywood's financial progress does not explain fully what he was doing. In "A Booke of wages paide monethly, quarterly, & half yerly by the King, 17 Hen. VIII," under the quarterly payments is the entry, "John Heywood, player of the virginals . . . 6*li*. 13*s*. 4*d*."³⁴ This is a large amount, totaling a yearly wage of much more than he received earlier as a singer, or later as a salaried player on the virginals. It is particularly unfortunate that we cannot pick

³³ See discussion, p. 46 ff. Also Chambers, *Med. Stage*, vol. II, p. 196; Feuillerat, *Revels Edward & Mary*, p. 288; Sharman, *Proverbs of Heywood*, intro.; C. Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 77 ff.

³⁴ *Egerton Mss.* No. 2604, f. 3; Collier, *Annals*, v. I, pp. 94-96; Sharman, *Proverbs of Heywood*, p. xli; C. Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 78.

up in the records the date of the first payment of this amount, though it is improbable that it could have been much before the beginning of the year 1526. Wallace has suggested that this payment was for some special court entertainment, a single event, and does not mention it as a regular quarterly income, even for the year 1526. Very probably this increased salary was intended by the king to compensate Heywood for the loss of the income from the manors of Maxey and Torpel which was taken from him in 1525. At all events it shows Heywood still enjoying royal favor in recognition of his wit, musical ability, and perhaps, by this time, his dramatic labors.

Heywood the singer now becomes Heywood, "player on the virginals." His service as court musician lasted much longer as an instrumentalist than as a singer. He may have been a better player, or perhaps his voice left him so that he could no longer please the royal ear. His fingers served him better than his song, however, for he was a salaried player on this early form of spinnet for twenty-two years. Probably he gave up this work, a man of fifty-five years, only because his skill had become impaired by age. His work must have been somewhat of a sinecure, playing at occasional musicales for Henry, and later Edward, with the leisure to apply himself to literary and dramatic efforts. It was more of a pension than a task; in fact the first mention of the appointment is under the designation of pension. If, as it appears, he received 6*li.* 13*s.* 4*d.* in 1526 for special musical services, his regular office as player on the virginals began in the fall of 1528. There is recorded the first payment of his salary, "upon warrant dated 8 Nov. 20 Henry VIII, for his pension of 10*li.* a year, to be paid quarterly from Michaelmas last."³⁵ Thus we can set the date of Sept. 29th, 1528, as the commencement of Heywood's established position as player on the virginals. The Books of the King's Payments are not complete, but very frequently a record of this quarterly payment

³⁵ Brewer, *Letters & Papers Hen. VIII*, v. V, p. 306.

of 50 shillings is found throughout the reign of Henry.³⁶ He was still a player in the time of Edward VI, and continued to receive the same salary as under Henry. The record of this regular payment ends with the year 1550.³⁷

King Henry was not casual in his appreciation of music. He himself was a skilled singer and instrumentalist, and he has been praised for some notable compositions. Hall gives an interesting account of his activities. "From thence the whole courte removed to Wyndesore, then beginning his progresse, exercising him selfe daily in shotyng, singing, dauncing, wrastelyng, casting of the barre, playiing at the recorders, flute, virginals, and in setting of songes (composing), makyng of ballettes, and did set ii goodly masses, every of them fyve partes, whiche were song oftentimes in hys chapel, and afterwarde in divers other places."³⁸ A long list of the musical instruments in Henry's household is given by Ellis.³⁹ From many other sources Henry's skill as a musician, and particularly as a player on the virginals, has been praised.⁴⁰ In this, as in many other phases of Henry's character, Heywood's gifts and disposition would naturally find royal approval.

In addition to this regular work as court musician, he was also in demand for extra services with his instrument. For instance, in January, 1537, the princess Mary paid Heywood's

³⁶ References available in Brewer, *Letters & Papers Hen. VIII*, are:

1529, March, v. V, p. 309.

1538, March, v. XIII, p. 528.

1539, May, v. XIV, pt. II, p. 307.

1540, May, v. XVI, p. 184.

1541, May, v. XVI, p. 704.

1542, Sept., v. XVII, p. 478.

1545, Dec., v. XX, pt. II, p. 515.

³⁷ C. Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 78. Also *King's Book of Payments*, 1-3 Ed. VI, Exch. K. R. Bdl. 426, No. 5, and ff.

³⁸ Hall, *Chronicle*, 2 Hen. VIII. Collier, *Annals*, v, I, pp. 60-1.

³⁹ Ellis, *Original Letters*, Ser. 2, v. I, p. 271.

⁴⁰ Maitland, *Grom's Dicty. Music*, etc., v. V, p. 341.

servant 20*d.* for bringing her regals from London to her apartments at Greenwich.⁴¹ This shows Heywood in some close relationship with the musical establishment of Mary at this time, but in all probability only as an incidental occupation, for he was still the court player for the king.

Judging from the great favor which Heywood enjoyed from the young Mary, and of the many later evidences of friendship between them, it is likely that their mutual delight in music resulted in many entertainments and musicales which are not formally recorded in any book of reckoning. Mary was a skilled musician and passionately fond of playing on her instruments. During the first year of her reign the huge sum of 2233*li.* 17*s.* 6*d.* was spent by her for musical and dramatic entertainment, chiefly for her musicians.⁴² She played well upon the virginals, and excelled on the lute to a surprising degree. When she was a girl, in 1525, particular directions were given to her governess regarding practice on these instruments. Her mother, writing her a tender letter after their separation, desires her to use her virginals or lute, and her book of expenses shows that this request was not disregarded. Perhaps during the period of Mary's disfavor, when Heywood wrote a complimentary poem to her, he was closely associated with her in musical affairs. When her position was restored, after the death of Anne Boleyn, she seems to have applied herself more vigorously to her music. Mr. Paston is named as her teacher on the virginals, and Philip Van Wilder of the Privy Chamber, as instructor on the lute. It appears from her accounts that she was accustomed to take these and other instruments with her whenever she moved, and there are frequent entries of payments to a per-

⁴¹ "Mens' Januarij: (1536/7)

Item geuen to Heywood servante for bringing of my Ladys grace
Regalles from London to Grenewiche. . . . xxd."

Madden, *Privy Purse Exp. Mary*, p. 12.

⁴² Collier, *Annals*, v. I, p. 165.

son coming from London to tune them.⁴³ In her younger days several musicians were retained in her household, such as "Giles, lewter with the Princess," with wages at 40*s.* per month, and "Claude Burgens, tabaret with the Princess, 31*s.*" and a host of others who were engaged for special occasions.⁴⁴

Even after 1550, when there is no further record of Heywood's service as player on the virginals, he was listed as such in Mary's accounts, with a salary much larger than he ever received for such work, and more than Mary's other virginal players were paid. In the first year of her reign, payment of 50*li.* was made to "John Heywood, player on the virginalles."⁴⁵ This amount seems more like a gift or a reward than a regular salary. At least it shows the regard Mary had for Heywood's services.

In February, 1552, Heywood received 30*s.* "for services" rendered at an entertainment for Princess Elizabeth, and on the same evening Sebastian Westcott played before her with the Paul's boys, and the king's drummer and fifer were also rewarded. Along with the other speculations regarding Heywood's office at this event, we may suggest that perhaps he was there with these other musicians to complete a small orchestra for the singing and dancing of the children or the guests after the play.⁴⁶ This might possibly have been his function at the entertainment for Queen Elizabeth at Nonesuch, August 7, 1559, for Sebastian Westcott and his Paul's

⁴³ Madden, *Privy Purse Exp. Mary*, cxxxix, etc., also note references to instruments, etc. in index.

⁴⁴ Collier, *Annals*, v. I, p. 95.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 165. The other players received:

Anthony Chounter.....30: 8: 4.

Robert Bowman.....12: 3: 4.

This entry is quoted by Hawkins, *Hist. of Music*, v. III, p. 480, as though these were household musicians in the time of Edward VI.

⁴⁶ See also page 53. *Household Acct. Princess Elizabeth*, v: II, p. 37; also C. Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 84.

boys again are present, also drums and flutes. Even at his advanced age, for he was then sixty-two, the famous old musician could have served well as instrumentalist in the program.⁴⁷

The fame which Bale and others give to Heywood as a musician was earned by a long career at court, extending perhaps from about the age of thirteen, when he probably began his work as chorister, down to the days of Elizabeth. Heywood was very probably a musical composer. Unquestionably he possessed sufficient skill and ability to compose melodies for the many songs he wrote. Bale says he was "musices ac rhythmicæ artis in sua lingua studiosus,"⁴⁸ and many of the foolish pastimes which the Protestant bishop says Heywood indulged in were doubtless these court musicales. Pitseus, who was closer to Heywood, also says, "vir pius, vtcumque doctus, valde ingeniosus, Musices tam vocalis, quam instrumentalis peritus."⁴⁹ In Heywood's works there are frequent allusions to his knowledge of music and his experience as a musician. His verses beginning, "Longe have I bene a singinge man," and the stanza, "The mean is the merry part, being sung right,"⁵⁰ and other similar expressions in his works remind us constantly that the poet is also the musician.

⁴⁷ H. Machyn, *Diary*, p. 206. See page 62 below.

⁴⁸ See page 58 below.

⁴⁹ See Appendix No. 5, page 168.

⁵⁰ *Spider and Fly*, Cap. 92, Farmer ed., p. 398.

CHAPTER II

COURT ENTERTAINER AND CATHOLIC PARTISAN

JOHN HEYWOOD, favored musician of the court and well established in a pensioned position in 1528 which lasted for him nearly a quarter-century, continued to extend his powers. He obtained influential friends and became intimately connected with them, won more grants of land from the king, attained a moderate degree of wealth, and became even more versatile in his ability to grace the entertainments of royalty.

On November 8th, 1528, after having received the position of player on the virginals, he was further honored by an appointment for life as *dapifer camerae* or steward of the royal chamber. For this he received 10*li.*, the same remuneration as for playing the virginals. The office was one of personal attendance upon the king, which Heywood held for thirty years. He surrendered it voluntarily in 1558, just before the death of Queen Mary. This position as much as that of court musician gave him a certain social prominence, and assured him a personal contact with the king that he did not neglect, as his many possessions later testify. After Edward VI came to the throne, on March 4th, 1552, the appointment was renewed and his salary was advanced to 40*li.* a year. When his friend Queen Mary reappointed him to this office, under date of April 5, 1555, she gave him an annual stipend of 50*li.*¹

Heywood is now a gentleman of the court, bound to it by

¹ *Exchequer of Receipt, Auditor's Warrant Books*, v. VIII, fol. 138b. *Patent Rolls*, 1 & 2 Philip & Mary, pt. 4, m. 16, dated Apr. 5, 1555. Also see C. Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 82.

two regular duties and, as we shall see, by further income from manorial grants. It would be difficult then, after 1528, to imagine Heywood at the head of a group of professional actors whose field lay beyond the sphere of court performances.

About the year 1529 Heywood married Eliza Rastell, the daughter of John Rastell and Elizabeth More. Elizabeth More Rastell, Heywood's mother-in-law, was the sister of Sir Thomas More. Heywood's wife had two brothers, William and John Rastell.² The year 1529 is suggested as the latest probable date of Heywood's marriage because in 1530 his son Ellis Heywood was born in London. The mention of Heywood's marriage to Eliza Rastell at once opens up an interesting topic for discussion, the associations of Heywood with Sir Thomas More, the Rastells, and the various other prominent figures in the large family circle which gathered about them.

The early biographers of Heywood all knew that he lived in close friendship with More, and they made the most of it. None help to answer the question, When did Heywood know More first? It is possible that it was More who procured the appointment of personal attendant to the king for Heywood before his marriage. Langbaine and later writers suppose it was More who introduced Heywood to the princess Mary, but this is not so important a point, for if More did not present him to the princess, many circumstances in his life about the court would have brought them together. In a manuscript note to Speght's *Chaucer*, Gabriel Harvey says that some of Heywood's epigrams are supposed to be conceits and devices of More's.³

The myth that Heywood was born at North Mims is dangerous in its possibilities at this point, for it would imply that Heywood returned to North Mims after leaving Oxford, and

² Consult genealogical table, page 158.

³ Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, v. III, p. 373.

from there was taken up to London by More and presented to the king. This is all very logical but not true.⁴ In June, 1525, More played an important part in the elaborate pageants which were given in honor of Henry's natural son when he was made Duke of Richmond. It is most likely that Heywood was also an active figure in these entertainments, and probably the two met at this time, if not at court entertainments before this date.

Heywood's father-in-law, John Rastell, was one of the most prominent printers of his day, and it is likely that Heywood knew him in London some years before his marriage. He was, like Heywood, an Oxford man, and later entered Lincoln's Inn and practiced law with success. About 1520 he moved his press and his "Sign of the Mermaid" to a house "next Paul's Gate," and there published legal text-books and other volumes which had a large sale in the inns of court. In 1530 he was drawn into the religious controversies then raging. He entered decidedly on the Catholic side, writing and printing his *New Boke of Purgatory* in defense of Roman doctrine. This was answered by John Fryth, who argued so well that he converted Rastell to Protestantism. This lost him nearly all his business and many of his friends, as he complains to Cromwell in a letter of 1536. He gave up printing probably early in this decade, for there are no books known to exist printed by him later than 1530. He evidently turned his print shop over to Leonard Andrewe, who may have been a relative of his.⁵

John Rastell's interest in dramatic productions increases our interest in him. He was the publisher of such early works as the *Interlude of the Four Elements*, *Interlude of Women*, *Play of Lucretia*, Skelton's *Magnificence*, and the *Gentleness and*

⁴ The most elaborate statement of this view is in *Biographica Dramatica*, v. I, pt. I, p. 328. See also Snell, *Age of Transition*, v. II, p. 12; Swoboda, Brandl, etc.

⁵ Duff, *Printers*, etc., pp. 156, 183 ff.

Nobility, which has been assigned to Heywood.⁶ In addition to these evidences of dramatic interest, he was extremely fond of giving plays at his home, as we shall see immediately. The lawsuit concerning his theatrical costumes in 1534 shows that he was in the habit of subletting his print shop and retiring to his house at Finsbury for months at a time. The Case of Rastell *vs.* Walton is described by Chambers:

"Rastell, going on a visit to France about 1525, had left with Walton a number of players' garments. These are fully described. They were mostly of say or sarcenet, and the tailor, who with the help of Rastell's wife had made them, valued them at 20*s.* apiece. Walton failed to restore them, and for some years let them on hire, to his own profit. Evidence to this effect was given by John Redman, stationer, and by George Mayler, merchant tailor, and George Birche, coriar, two of the king's players. These men had played in the garments themselves and had seen them used in 'stage playes' when the king's banquet was at Greenwich (1527). They had been used at least twenty times in stage plays every summer and twenty times in interludes every winter, and Walton had taken, as the 'common custome' was, at a stage play 'sumtyme xld., sumetyme ijs., as they couth agree, and at an interlude viij*d.* for every tyme.' Rastell had brought a previous suit in the mayor's court, but could only receive 35*s.* 9*d.*, at which the goods had been officially appraised. But they were then 'rotten and torne,' whereas Rastell alleged that they were nearly new when delivered to Walton and worth 20 marks. Walton relied on the official appraisement, and had a counter-claim for 40*s.* balance of a bill for 50*s.* costs 'in making of stage for playes in Restall's groundes beside Fyndesbury, in tymbre, boured, nayle, lath,

⁶ C. Wallace, *Evolution*, pp. 16-7, says that this piece was written by Cornish, apparently because Bale in his revised *Catalogus* changes "reliquit" to "primum edidit" in listing Rastell's work. There is no reason given for assigning it to Cornish.

sprigge and other thyngs.' He held the clothes against payment of this amount, which Rastell challenged."⁷

It is probable, too, that Rastell had some stage arrangement at North Mims, and presented theatricals there. To his interest in dramatics we may attribute his printing several interludes and plays by Medwall, Skelton and Heywood.⁸ Heywood and he were perhaps first drawn into friendship by their common interests. This enthusiasm for dramatics increasing, Rastell probably invited Heywood to his home in the country and encouraged him to write interludes for presentation there. Certainly *fabliau-farce* of the type of *John, Tib, and Sir John* and the *Four P's* might well have been given on Rastell's private stage. This activity would bring Heywood into contact with More, if they were not already acquainted. More himself doubtless became interested in the dramatic efforts of his brother-in-law, and participated in them. Roper tells of More's delight in such performances and of his ability to engage in impromptu acting.⁹ If this speculation is not too wild, it is possible that Heywood met Eliza, the daughter of his host, on such visits, and that this friendship developed into matrimony, perhaps in the year 1529.

The matter of Heywood's owing property at North Mims has already been mentioned. Sir Thomas More's father, Sir

⁷ Chambers, *Med. Stage*, v. II, pp. 183-4.

⁸ Duff, Chap. 13, *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, v. II, p. 328.

⁹ Roper, *Life & Death of More*, p. 1, tells of his stepping into the midst of the players and acting a part impromptu. More, as a page, won a reputation for his skill in improvising a scene; Chambers, *Med. Stage*, v. II, p. 193. Bale and Erasmus tell of many youthful comedies written by More, some treating the friars and their faults with a broad satire, as Heywood did also. See Cresacre More's *Life of Sir Thomas More*. M. W. Wallace, *Birthe of Hercules*, p. 25: "Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* contains a reference to the occasions 'when one of Plautus's comedies is on the stage, and a company of servants are acting their parts,' and the reference is of such a nature, that it would seem to justify the conclusion that such an event was by no means uncommon at that time."

John More, owned the manor of Gobions in the parish of North Mims, and left it to his wife, with the remainder for her son. Documents concerning this property unfortunately are almost completely lacking, but doubtless this was a considerable estate. It is probable that Thomas More's sister, Elizabeth, received a portion of it when she married John Rastell, and thus transferred some of this property into the Rastell family. In this way Rastell's daughter Eliza could have inherited some land at North Mims after her father's death in 1536, which would account for Heywood's owning land there, or at least his living there for a time. The only other land attached to the Heywood name at North Mims was that which Rastell's son William gave to Ellis Heywood by bequest in 1564; "Item volo quod idem Elizeus gaudeat et habeat sibi et haeredibus suis praedium meum in Northmymys, in comitatu Hertsfordie in Anglia," etc.¹⁰ On Sir Thomas More's attainder in 1534, Sir John More's widow was expelled from Gobions. When Mary came to the throne, the manor was restored to the widow of Sir Thomas's son, Anne Cresacre.¹¹

The More-Rastell-Heywood circle included many prominent persons who were closely related to this family. George Cavendish, the intimate secretary and biographer of Cardinal Wolsey, married Margery Kemp, daughter of Sir Thomas Kemp of Spainhall, Essex, who was a niece of Sir Thomas More's.¹² There was also Sir Giles Alington, one of Alexander Barclay's early patrons, for whom Barclay translated the *Mirroure of Good Manners*.¹³ Giles Alington married the daughter of Mistress Alice Middleton who was More's

¹⁰ See Appendix No. 4, page 162. Also Bang's note, *Englische Studien*, band 38, p. 246.

¹¹ The Genealogical Chart, p. 158, will be helpful in the matter of Heywood's relations. Also see *D. N. B.* for general information concerning these people.

¹² Cavendish, *Wolsey*, p. 9 ff.

¹³ Barclay, *Ship of Fools*, Jamieson ed. v. I, pp. xxxix, xli.

second wife. She is mentioned in nearly all the biographies of More, and seems to have been a "worthy woman" who served More best by being a good governess to his three young daughters and a housekeeper in his home. He married her, by special dispensation, within a month after the death of his first wife, Jane Colte, in 1511. Mistress Alice was unfortunate in not being able to see the point of many of Sir Thomas's witty sallies, and by this defect encouraged him to make her the butt of many jests. In a racy little book called *The XII Mery Jestes of the Wydow Edyth*, by Walter Smith, a servant in More's household at Chelsea, is told how this widow-adventuress Edith "deceived three young men of Chelsea that were servants to Sir Thomas More." Many members of the household are mentioned in this intimate story, and among them is "master Alengton." Hazlitt suggests he might be Robert Alynton, author of *Libellus Sophistarum*,¹⁴ but there is no doubt that this is a clear reference to Sir Giles Alington, living at Chelsea with the Mores at this time.

William Roper, of Well-hall, parish of Eltham, Kent, another member of this extraordinary group, married More's eldest daughter, the favorite Margaret, or Meg. He lived with More for over sixteen years, and wrote a charming and familiar biography of his father-in-law. He died the same year as John Heywood, in 1578.¹⁵ Dr. John Clement also married into Sir Thomas More's family, winning the hand of the accomplished Margaret Giggs, the adopted daughter of More, frequently referred to as his niece. Almost all these persons, or their children, were swept into Flanders by the Protestant reaction which came with Elizabeth's accession. With the exception of John Rastell, all of them were faithful to the Catholic cause, and, as we shall see, they were not entirely passive in their religious convictions.

¹⁴ W. C. Hazlitt, *Old Eng. Jest Books*, v. III, p. 76.

¹⁵ See Introduction to Roper, *Life & Death of More*, also Hazlitt, *Old Eng. Jest Books*, v. III, p. 77.

William Rastell, born about 1508, a student at Oxford in 1525, was Heywood's dramatic publisher. He carried on his father's printing business, publishing legal and controversial works, especially those of Sir Thomas More. While printing, in 1532 he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1539. He was a staunch Catholic throughout his life. During the reign of Edward VI he retired with many others to Louvain, to return when Mary came to the throne in 1553, and by her favor rose rapidly in the legal profession. In 1558 he was made a judge of the Queen's Bench, which office he retained until 1563. He then went into exile, again to Louvain, where he died, Aug. 27, 1565. After he gave up printing he continued to edit law books, and it was he who supervised the publication of More's complete English works, published by Richard Tottel in 1557 under the encouragement of Queen Mary.

These are some of the persons, then, with whom Heywood became intimately associated by his marriage to Eliza Rastell. It is somewhat amusing to notice some of the errors made by the earlier biographers of this group, and it is highly important that these errors be corrected. Izaak Walton, in his account of John Donne, says that "by his mother he was descended of the family of the famous and learned Sir Thomas More . . . as also from that worthy and laborious judge Rastell."¹⁶ Jessopp, building on this sandy foundation, says, "Elizabeth, the daughter of William Rastell and Winifred (Clement) his wife, married John Heywood."¹⁷ But William was Elizabeth's brother, not her father. If Jessopp had looked up the dates, he would have noticed that William Rastell was born in 1508, and his "grandson" Ellis Heywood, was born in 1530, which would give William his first grandchild at the age of twenty-two! But the unfortunate result of this is that Gosse, following Walton and Jessopp, has made

¹⁶ Walton, *Donne*, xvii.

¹⁷ Jessopp, *John Donne*, p. 3.

his biographical chapter on Donne's ancestors completely awry, a serious defect in a standard work.¹⁸ In a similar way simple mathematics is disregarded by Swoboda in attempting to show that Heywood married when he was an old man. In an epigram¹⁹ Heywood says, "My wife hath now a child at four score and ten!" A friend expresses fitting surprise, but the reply shows it was at four score and ten quarters, not full years. Swoboda holds this to have been written between 1553 and 1556, when Heywood was nearly sixty, and hence his wife about twenty-two, he being old enough to be her father. But Swoboda forgets that in that case Ellis Heywood would be about four years older than his own mother.²⁰

And so, having accounted for many of Heywood's most intimate friends and the circle of influence about him, and seeing him firmly established at court, a husband and a father by 1530, we may again take up the account of his activities during this important decade.

On January 10th, 1533, there appears in the king's accounts a list of his New Year's gifts. The long roll records his favors to his nobility, the ladies of the court, the bishops, his gentlemen, and many commoners, among whom are various artisans employed at court. To a large group of individuals, including one Heywood, he makes gifts of plate. No first name is mentioned, but there is no reasonable doubt that this was John Heywood, for we know him to be the king's musician and personal attendant at this time.²¹

This year of 1533 is an important one. It was the year in which Archbishop Cranmer pronounced the divorce of Henry from Catherine, the year of Anne Boleyn's exaltation, and the birth of her daughter, Princess Elizabeth. With the birth of Elizabeth came the fall and degradation of Princess Mary,

¹⁸ Ed. Gosse, *John Donne*, Chap. I.

¹⁹ Epigr. No. 416, Farmer ed. p. 242.

²⁰ Swoboda, *Heywood als Dramatiker*, p. 9.

²¹ Brewer, *Letters & Papers Hen. VIII*, v. VI, p. 14.

who until this time held her miniature court, with some show of pomp, away from the sight of her father. After proclaiming Anne Boleyn's daughter a princess, Henry ordered Mary to give up her title and bestow it upon Elizabeth. She refused to do this, and her father was furious. She was not permitted to approach the king, was kept in the country, and her household and retinue were dissolved. Several persons were committed to the tower for holding intercourse with her and for styling her "Princess" after the prohibition against it.²²

Quite naturally, to Catholics of the More-Heywood group, the divorce and the abuse of the young Catholic princess was a provocation which stirred them greatly. It began a lively animosity against Cranmer which, we shall see, brought much trouble to Heywood but ultimately gave him the satisfaction of seeing this arch-Protestant burned to death. From the marriage of Anne Boleyn dates the beginning of Sir Thomas More's downfall.

The year 1533 is also the date of publication of four plays by Heywood, from the press of his brother-in-law William Rastell. These plays, *The Pardoner and Friar*, *The Play of Love*, *The Play of the Weather*, and *John, Tib, and Sir John*, will be discussed later. A loyal Catholic bringing out his works in this period of anti-Roman excitement would not venture to put his name to one which contained any satire against his own church. The time was not auspicious for Catholics to criticise, but the moment was very favorable to a work poking fun at Catholic institutions, more of wit than serious arraignment, because of its selling possibilities. Surely Heywood and Rastell were acute enough to perceive this. Heywood's name has lived because of his dramatic work, but he was not primarily a dramatist. He probably wrote many interludes and farces which are not preserved to us, but no matter how large the amount, we know his life

²² Madden, *Privy Purse Exp. Mary*, Intro. Memoir.

was not mainly one of play-writing, or acting. It would perhaps be possible to regard him chiefly as a musician.

At this period of his friendship with More and his occupation at court we can best postulate his introduction to Princess Mary which is so universally mentioned by his biographers. Heywood no doubt had appeared before Mary frequently, previous to 1533, in connection with many court entertainments. But at this time, when she was decidedly out of favor and when all Catholics were wary, More could have used his easy access to the princess to encourage the friendship which we know existed later between these two.

There is fortunately preserved a poem by Heywood addressed to Mary, published only in part in *Tottel's Miscellany*. When it was printed, the last stanzas, which disclose the identity of the poet's lady, were omitted.²³ This poem was written, perhaps as a birthday offering to the princess, in February, 1534, when Mary was eighteen years of age. It was composed when she was in deepest disfavor, and from what we know of Heywood's later career, such loyalty and sympathetic attention were not neglected by Mary. In this piece he praises her beauty, her wit and gravity, her mirth and modesty, and exalts her quite above all women; it was courtly, and effective.

The year 1534 also was important for Heywood. Its events must have troubled his heart. The Act of Supremacy lost for More the chancellorship, and he was attainted for treason. His resolute refusal to forsake the Catholic doctrine and submit to Henry cost him his life in the following year. Heywood's conduct in the events of this year is not known, but surely he was not inactive.

²³ Particularly the following:

And Mary was her name, sweet ye,
With these graces indued;
At eighteen years so flourished she:
So doth his mean conclude.

When, in 1535, More was condemned to death, Roper tells that Sir Thomas Pope, More's "singular good friend," brought the news of his condemnation to him. "The king is content already," quoth Master Pope, 'that your wife, children, and other friends shall have liberty to be present thereat.'"²⁴ Heywood probably was present at the execution. Sanders tells a gruesome tale of More's favorite daughter, Margaret Roper, who with Margaret Giggs Clement visited him just before the execution. Meg gave her father his last kiss, and she herself attended to the body after it was beheaded. The bloody shirt of More was long kept as a relic in the family.²⁵ When the Emperor Charles heard of More's execution he sent for the English ambassador, Sir Thomas Elliott, and told him he would rather have lost the best city of his dominions than such a counselor. Roper, after telling about this incident, adds, "Which matter was by the same Sir Thomas Eliott to my selfe, to my wife, to Master Clement and his wife, to Master John Heywood and his wife, and unto divers others his friends accordingly reported."²⁶

In this same year, 1535, Heywood's second son, Jasper, was born in London. There are three other children, all daughters, still to be accounted for. Elizabeth Donne, who was born about 1540, will be considered later. In the will of William Rastell there is reference to Johanna Stubbs and Elizabeth Marvin, who are sisters of Ellis Heywood. "Item do et lego Johannaë Stubbis, sorori dicti Elizei, catenam meam auream majorem, ac annulum meum aureum forma antiquissima cum rubino infixo; Item do et lego Elizabetæ Marvin, alii sorori dicti Elizei, annulum meum aureum cum effigie capitis mortui," etc.²⁷ Sanderus also refers to a Joanna

²⁴ Roper, *Life & Death of More*, p. 55.

²⁵ Nich. Sanderus, *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae*, 1571, cited by Bang, *Englische Studien*, band 38, p. 235.

²⁶ Roper, *Life & Death of More*, p. 57.

²⁷ See appendix No. 4, p. 164.

Stubbs as one of many Catholic women listed under the heading, *Graues matronae, ob fidem aliquando aut vinctae, aut exules*.²⁸ Concerning Elizabeth Marvin nothing more is known. It is curious that Heywood should have two daughters named Elizabeth. This was also his wife's name, and her mother's.²⁹ The date of birth of these two daughters is not known, but in all probability they were born between 1531 and 1539.

The period of uneasiness for Catholics such as Heywood came to an end in 1536. In May of that year Anne Boleyn was executed, and from that time on a very skillfully managed program of reconciliation was evolved by the friends of the princess Mary. Gradually she reinstated herself in Henry's favor, and one by one her royal dignities were again restored. In September, Robert Aske organized the famous "Pilgrimage of Grace," involving some 30,000 Catholics, in protest against the Protestant heretics and more especially against the dissolution of the monasteries.³⁰ The execution of Sir Thomas More and the Pilgrimage of Grace were two events which must have reacted deeply upon Heywood. Perhaps, indeed, they caused the inception of his longest work, the *Spider and the Fly*, which he tells us was begun about this time, but was postponed to a more peaceful day for its completion.

In January, 1537, occurs the entry already mentioned from Mary's domestic accounts. Heywood's servant received twenty pence for bringing her regals from London to Greenwich. This indicates a close relationship between Heywood and Mary at this period. It is even suggested that Heywood may have been one of her household. It would not be unlikely that Mary "borrowed" him from the court for a

²⁸ Bang, in *Englische Studien*, band 38, p. 236. She is No. 1958.

²⁹ Cf. the name of Heywood's son, Elizeus or Ellis.

³⁰ A full account of this event, from the Catholic point of view, will be found in Dodd's *Church Hist. of Eng.*, v. I, p. 263 ff.

time, at least, when he was not needed for special duties.³¹ There are, of course, no documents to support this assumption.

But whether Heywood was in Mary's retinue or not, there is no doubt concerning their friendship. In March, 1538, for instance, we find in her accounts the entry, "Item geuen to Haywood playeing an enterlude with his Children bfore my lady's grace . . . xls."³² The possibilities that this and other references to "Heywood's children" suggest, will be discussed later. One thing to be emphasised here is that Heywood did not confine his dramatic interests and activities to any particular period or decade. His dramatic period has generally been assigned to the decade preceding the publication of his interludes in 1533. More than twenty years later than this, however, we shall see him still involved in court entertainments given by children.

One highly important dramatic entertainment given by Heywood seems to have escaped the notice of students of this period. Chambers refers to it, but unfortunately says, "In 1539, Wolsey paid him for a masque of Arthur's Knights, or Divine Providence, at court."³³ It was Cromwell who paid Heywood for this event; Wolsey had been dead since 1530. This entertainment, mentioned in the king's Household Accounts with scanty information and detail, helps greatly to explain Bale's description of Heywood's duties, "conducting dances after revels and banquets, presenting pageants, plays, masks, and similar pastimes." Little has been said about Heywood's connection with court masks and pageants, and yet these more undramatic forms of court entertainment were fully as important in the royal "disportes" as the farces and interludes, not to include the moralities, which have attracted more attention. This clear notice of Heywood as a

³¹ Pollard, *Gayley Representative Eng. Comedies*, v. I, p. 3.

³² Madden, *Priory Purse Exp. Mary*, p. 62.

³³ Chambers, *Med. Stage*, v. II, p. 443.

director of court shows opens up the way for speculation concerning similar activity at various other times in his long service.

In Cromwell's accounts, under date of February 11, 1539, payment is recorded to "Christopher the Myllyoner, for stuff of the mask of King Arthur's Knights. . . . 10*li.* 17*s.* 11*d.*," and for his labor and workmen, 3*li.* On Feb. 12th payment was made to John Dymoke for eleven copper plates, "and other necessities for my Lord's mask," and for comfits when the lords dined with my Lord, amounting to 9*li.* 2*s.* 6*d.* The painter "that made all the hobbyhorses and the other things thereto belonging," received 33*li.* 17*s.* 6*d.* on Feb. 20th, and on the same date "Heywoodes costs" were paid, amounting to 5*li.* 10*s.* 5*d.*, while Mistress Vaughan was paid for the things bought of her for the masks, 6*li.* 7*s.* 6*d.* On Feb. 22nd the bargemen "that carried Heywoodes mask to the court and home again," received 16*s.* 8*d.* The last entry pertaining to this entertainment is payment to Christopher the Myllyoner "for trimming of Divine Providence when she played before the King," of 21*s.* 2*d.*, and for "night-capes" for my Lord and others, 33*s.*³⁴

From the properties mentioned—hobby-horses, night-capes, copper plates (for squibs?)—this show appears to have all the characteristics of the regular court mask at this time, with the extravagance of costume and setting and the dancing of the masked gentlemen of the court. Heywood is here shown directly connected with something far different from the simple interludes and farces with which he is usually associated.

The amount of property Heywood accumulated and held an interest in during his lifetime is unusually large. With one nearly fatal exception, he enjoyed consistent favor from the king. In 1539 there is a letter addressed to him by John Whederykke, clerk, former abbott of St. Osith's, which is attached to a roll of five pages of writing, all concerning a farm

³⁴ Brewer, *Letters & Papers Hen. VIII*, v. XIV, pt. II, p. 340.

that formerly belonged to the monastic house which had been disbanded. It would be interesting to know the feelings of so faithful a Catholic as Heywood, holding monastic land to his own profit at the expense of his Church. Here he is addressed as 'John Heywood, *Gentleman*'; his position won by his attendance upon Henry, and perhaps also as a landed proprietor.³⁵

In the next year the king granted Heywood a lease on Broke Hall, Essex, for twenty-one years at a rent of 10*li.* and 2*s.* 'increase.' This property came to the hands of the king by the attainder of Thomas Cromwell, late earl of Essex. The rent is obviously a low one, and doubtless Heywood made a considerable profit by letting it. This grant is dated from Windsor Castle, Nov. 21, 1540.³⁶

Perhaps the most interesting of Heywood's famous children was his daughter Elizabeth, who married John Donne and who was the mother of Dr. John Donne, the illustrious poet. She was born in the year 1540, and was probably the youngest of the family. She lived some ninety-two years, married the elder John Donne in 1563, by him had six children, and at his death married a certain Symmings. Upon being widowed the second time she married Richard Rainsforth (or Rainsford), and outlived him to become a tender burden to her son when he was Dean of St. Paul's. She had enjoyed considerable property which came to her first husband through the Lewin legacy, but lost it and never after seems to have been financially independent. Her son's letters to her in her old age make constant reference to her hard and stormy life and frequently to her "contracted estate." She seems to have lived abroad at some time, which suggests that she may have gone to visit her father in the Low Countries when he was in exile. She was regarded as a persistent and stubborn papist, especially defiant when she lived at St. Paul's Deanery with

³⁵ Brewer, *Letters & Papers, Hen. VIII*, v. XIV, pt. I, p. 577.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, v. XVI, p. 172.

her son, about 1624, and frequently was an embarrassment to him in ecclesiastical affairs. She visited and relieved her brother Jasper when he was imprisoned in the Tower in 1584 for his activity as head of the Jesuit mission. She was, it is said, despoiled of her wealth for non-conformity in Elizabeth's reign, but lived to see the stern laws relaxed under James. Possibly she took her son John Donne to see old Heywood in exile on the continent, for it is held that Donne was educated as a Catholic in Flanders.³⁷

Another reference to Heywood is found in the year following, 1541, when a reversion was granted to Elizabeth and Morgan Phillip, the king's goldsmith, among other property, on a tenement and its appurtenances in tenure of John Haywoode, formerly leased to a Thomas Young, in the parish of St. Peter in Woodstreet; dated from Westminster, Sept. 12, 1541.³⁸

It is interesting to recall that Heywood, in his desire to advance himself at court, was not above insidious attack upon one who rivaled him in royal favor. Master Will Somer, the king's jester, is used by him in his dramatic debate *Witty and Witless*, as the best example of the witless fool. He refers to him as "Sot Somer," or says directly, "Somer is a sot." There is no compliment intended in thus advertising the royal jester. Somer was an important figure notwithstanding his undignified occupation. Henry was greatly attached to him, and Somer is included in the portrait of Henry in the Royal Psalter which the king used.³⁹ He was employed by Edward VI to direct a mask at Christmas-tide, 1551,⁴⁰ and became so well-known as to serve as a by-word for a gay fellow.⁴¹

³⁷ *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, v. IV, p. 200. Jessopp, *Donne*. Ed. Gosse, *John Donne*, esp. his letters to his mother.

³⁸ Brewer, *Letters & Papers Hen. VIII*, v. XVI, p. 576.

³⁹ See frontispiece, Ellis, *Original Letters*, Ser. I, v. I.

⁴⁰ Feuillerat, *Revels Edw. & Mary*, p. 73.

⁴¹ As in the play *Misogonus*. Additional information regarding him may be found in Farmer, *Dramatic Writings Heywood*, p. 267.

The most likely cause of Heywood's splenetic handling of Somer was his envy and jealousy, for Somer was perhaps even more intimate with the king than Heywood, and doubtless Heywood judged his own services at court, musical and otherwise, to be worth more advancement and appreciation than that given to a professional fool.

One of the most outstanding episodes in the life of John Heywood resulted from his active participation in plots to hinder the spread of Protestantism. The present sources of information concerning a plot against Archbishop Cranmer, in which we shall presently see Heywood involved, are largely from Strype and Foxe—both notably Protestant in tone—and some allowance must be made for the bias of the historians.

Stephen Gardiner, the pro-Roman bishop of Winchester, sought the overthrow of his "constant adversary" Archbishop Cranmer of Canterbury.⁴² In 1543 the prebendaries and other clergy of Canterbury who were "addicted to the pope" carefully prepared a long bill of charges against Cranmer for not reporting certain violations of the Six Articles, which at that time the king was anxious to have strictly enforced. These Six Articles, because of their strict provisions and penalties, were termed commonly "the whip with six strings."⁴³ They were helpful in every way to the cause of the Catholics who had succeeded in having them instituted in April, 1540. They provided, under six heads, that the dogma of transubstantiation be universally accepted, that the communion in both kinds was not necessary, that the priesthood must adhere to the rule of celibacy, that all vows of chastity and widowhood must be observed, that private masses were desirable and should be continued, and that auricular confession was expedient and necessary.

Quite naturally, then, a Protestant so liberal as Cranmer

⁴² See Strype, *Memorials of Cranmer*, Chap. 26.

⁴³ Foxe, *Acts & Monuments*, v. II, p. 371 ff.

would not report all slight violations of these articles which were committed in his see. Indeed, it would have been impossible for him to know of many of these violations. Bishop Gardiner, therefore, encouraged the collection of a great body of evidence and gossip, all tending to condemn Cranmer for heresy. Germain Gardiner, nephew of the Bishop of Winchester, was one of the chief agents in the collection of this book of accusations. "The chief witnesses and persons concerned as vouchers and informers were Roper, Balthazar a chirurgion, Heywood, Moor, Bechinsal, Germain Gardiner."⁴⁴

Not long after Easter, 1543, this document passed through the hands of the privy council to the king himself. Henry immediately was suspicious of the game and did not give up his archbishop into the hands of the Catholics. Strype writes: "So he put the book of articles in his sleeve; and passing one evening in his barge, by Lambeth-bridge, the archbishop standing at the stairs to do his duty to his majesty, he called him into the barge to him; and, accosting him with these words, 'Oh my chaplain, now I know who is the greatest heretic in Kent,' communicated to him these matters, shewing him the book of articles against him and his chaplains, and bad him peruse it."⁴⁵

The king appointed Cranmer himself to head a commission which should investigate the whole matter. A copy of the book of accusations against Cranmer, prepared by the Catholics, is preserved, and in it is a schedule of questions for the examination of Cranmer, should he be held for examination by the king. One of the interrogatories asks what communication by word or writing was had by Cranmer with Heywood and the others mentioned by Strype. This same interrogatory is repeated further along in the manuscript, as if designed to bring forth different evidence relating to another matter. Nothing touching Heywood's testimony can be

⁴⁴ Strype, *Memorials of Cranmer*, v. I, p. 259.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, v. I, p. 261.

gleaned from this material. Perhaps his contribution was some inadvertent remarks made to him by Cranmer at court, which could now seriously be turned against him.⁴⁶ Dr. Clement, the husband of Margaret Giggis, adopted daughter of Sir Thomas More, is also employed as a witness and is mentioned in this manuscript. The "Mr. Moor" who is one of the witnesses, is John More, son of Sir Thomas; and Roper is his well-known son-in-law who wrote his biography. Thus we see Heywood, with members of the More family circle and other Catholics of the most powerful group, carrying on the fight which the chancellor himself had waged against Protestantism.

Cranmer in his investigations discovered a widely-organized plot. Many of the accusers confessed their share in the conspiracy, and evidently did not hesitate to tell what they could of the schemes of the other men. Cranmer then conducted a raid to the apartments of several men involved, and procured many incriminating letters. These were sent to the king, who was angered and wished promptly to punish the men who had so nearly accomplished Cranmer's fall. "In fine, divers of the chief of the knot were committed to prison, where they remained till the next year, some more closely confined than others; all during the archbishop's pleasure. All that the archbishop required of them was repentance and recantation, and an ingenuous confession of their faults and falseness to him. Abiding for some time under affliction, their spirits began to mollify; and then by supplicatory letters to the archbishop, they begged his pardon, made their confessions, and desired their liberty."⁴⁷ Parliament was then in session, and the Catholic party secured for the king a subsidy which he desired, in order to soften him and to gain liberty and a general pardon for its imprisoned friends.

⁴⁶ Mss. Vol. 128, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. See also Brewer, *Letters & Papers Hen. VIII*, v. XVIII, pt. II, pp. 297-8.

⁴⁷ Strype, *Memorials of Cranmer*, v. I, p. 267.

Heywood must have been in this group which suffered imprisonment in 1543. In tracing the history of some of the others in this party of accusation, we again meet with some definite notice of him. "Germain Gardiner was a year after hanged, drawn and quartered, as a traitor, for denying the king's supremacy. And the Bishop of Winchester after this never had favour or regard of the king more. And Heywood, another of the crew of informers and witnesses, was condemned for treason with Gardiner; but making a recantation, his life was spared."⁴⁸ His indictment, preserved in the record of sessions held at Westminster on Friday, Feb. 15, 1544, reads:

"The Jury say upon their oath that John Heywood, late of London, gentleman, John Ireland, late of Eltham in the county of Kent, clerk, John Larke, late of Chelsea in the county of Middlesex, clerk, and Germain Gardiner, late of Southwark in the county of Surrey, gentleman, not weighing the duties of their allegiance, nor keeping God Almighty before their eyes, but seduced by the instigation of the Devil, falsely, maliciously, and traitorously, like false and wicked traitors against the most Serene and Christian Prince, our Lord Henry VIII, by the grace of God King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and upon Earth Supreme Head of the English and Irish Church, choosing, wishing, desiring and cunningly machinating, inventing, practising and attempting—that is, each of them by himself falsely, maliciously, etc., choosing, wishing, etc., and attempting—together with many other false traitors unknown in confederacy with them—to deprive our said King, Henry VIII, of his royal dignity, title and name of 'Supreme Head of the English and Irish Church,' which has been united and annexed to his Imperial Crown by the laws and proclamations of this his realm of England: (this they have attempted) falsely and traitorously by words, writings and deeds, which are notorious and public. Moreover, that falsely and traitorously, and contrary to the duty of their allegiance (they attempted) to depose and deprive the same lord our King of his Majesty, state, power and royal

⁴⁸ Strype, *Memorials of Cranmer*, v. I, p. 269.

dignity, and also, falsely and traitorously, with all their force and power (endeavored) to subvert, frustrate, and annihilate the good and praiseworthy statutes and ordinances of our aforesaid lord the King, made and provided for the state, properties, government, and rule of this his said realm of England."⁴⁹

Heywood, of course, was found guilty of treason. This is shown by the royal grant of April 12, 1544, appointing a commission to take the account of Sir Richard Southwell, one of the General Surveyors, relative to money, plate, jewels, corn, cattle, etc., received by him, which came to the king by the deaths of Richard Nyke, bishop of Norwich, and of Sir George Lawson, and by the attainders of Germain Gardiner, late of London, and John Heywood, late of London, and several others.⁵⁰

In April, then, Heywood, with Gardiner and others, was in prison awaiting sentence for his treason. Further reference to him as a traitor occurs in a grant of pardon given to one of the unfortunates on April 24th. This pardon was bestowed upon "John More, of Chelsith, Midd.," son of Sir Thomas More, and he is excused for "all treasonable words with the detestable traitors, Germain Gardiner, John Heywood," and others, "in wishing ill to the king and arguing against the King's supremacy, and all concealments of treason."⁵¹

The next record in this affair is much brighter for Heywood. A grant dated from Westminster, June 26, 1544, gives to "John Heywode, late of London, alias of Northmymmes, Herts.," a full and general pardon. This pardon carried with it a complete restoration of all Heywood's lands and annuities.⁵² But the price he had to pay for his release and pardon was a public confession and recantation before the citizens of London at Paul's Cross. This he was willing to do, for

⁴⁹ Gairdner, *Lollardy & Reformation*, pp. 411-2.

⁵⁰ Brewer, *Letters & Papers Hen. VIII*, v. XIX, pt. I, p. 275.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, v. XIX, pt. I, p. 285.

⁵² *Ibid.*, v. XIX, pt. I, p. 504.

doubtless he felt he could help the cause of the Church more by temporizing than by martyrizing. His recantation was accordingly made on July 6, 1544, and was signed by him the same day. It is preserved in the Lambeth Manuscripts, *Bonner Register*, and has been printed before in full, evidently with genuine satisfaction, by John Foxe.⁵³ The tone of the recantation is exceedingly abject and humble, as doubtless Heywood felt he must be in order to satisfy his enemies. His professed conversion, however, lasted only until a Catholic queen came to her throne.

The recantation of Heywood seems to be the only document pertaining to this affair noticed or used by his biographers, excepting a reference to this event made by Sir John Harington in his jocular *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, 1596. He writes: "What think you by Haywood, that escaped hanging with his mirth? The king being graciously and (as I think) truly persuaded that a man that wrote so pleasant and harmless verses, could not have any harmful conceit against his proceedings; and so by the honest motion of a gentleman of his chamber, saved him from the jerk of the six stringed whip."⁵⁴ The allusion to the six-stringed whip is double, referring to the gallows-rope, and the Six Articles; but Harington has confused the Six Articles with the Act of Supremacy. Heywood would have been one of the last men to violate any of the Six Articles, or at least to work against their operation. It is, of course, impossible to identify the "gentleman of his chamber," who prayed the king to spare Heywood. Heywood himself was a gentleman of the chamber and this was perhaps a friend of his. But the careful writing of accurate biography

⁵³ See Appendix, No. 3, p. 160.

Bishop Basil Kennett has this preserved in his collectanea, (now in *Landsdowne Mss.* No. 980, f. 34) under the heading:

MDXLIV. Account of Mr John Heywood convict of treason for denying the King's Supremacy and pardon on a public Recantation. Also, Brewer, *Letters & Papers Hen. VIII.* v. XIX, pt. I, p. 531.

⁵⁴ Harington, *Metam. Ajax*, pp. 41-2.

was far from Harington's purpose in his "cloacinian satire," and we cannot trust too much in the unnamed gentleman who saved Heywood's life. Heywood's favor with Henry was perhaps sufficient to accomplish this.

Cranmer and the Protestants won, and the Catholic plot failed. But Heywood's day was yet to come. It will be noticed later that the Spider in his long poem, the *Spider and the Fly*, turns out to be Cranmer, whom the maid sweeps down and crushes under her foot. In all fairness to Heywood, the death of Cranmer is not sung with glee, but soberly and with moral import and warning. Heywood himself had suffered too much from religious intolerance to forget himself in a frenzy of exultation. Perhaps, too, he suspected at that time that he might live to see another reaction, a Protestant queen on the throne, and a new persecution of undesirable Catholics.

CHAPTER III

THE QUEEN'S FAVORITE

AFTER the stormy period of 1543-1544 had passed, Heywood appears to have enjoyed unbroken prosperity for the next twenty-five years. During that time he reached the position of a gentleman-wit, a poet and courtier, an epigrammatist of no small fame, whose name was powerful long after his death, when the field was full of quarreling rivals. He was, of course, still the *dapifer camerae*, a position doubtless of more honor and distinction than of rigid requirement for him, and he was still player on the virginals.

The king royally kept his word when he pardoned him and restored him to favor. Not only were his former grants renewed, but new holdings were received from Henry. He is listed on July 5, 1545, as possessing two messuages or estates, in tenure with a John Coke, which formerly belonged to Mylton monastery, situated in Whitechurch parish, Dorset.¹ In addition to this and the St. Osith's property, he held another parcel of land formerly belonging to the Church. On Dec. 27, 1545, a grant in fee was made concerning lands in the several tenures of John Heywoodde, John Coke, Joan Coke, and various others.² Nor does this end the list. In March, 1546, we find a grant in fee was made of "Kyrbybellers Priory, in Kylby, Leicestershire, in tenure of John Haywoodde."³ There are more records of Heywood's holdings to be noticed later, but enough have already been mentioned to show that his position then was one of affluence.

¹ Brewer, *Letters & Papers Hen. VIII*, v. XX, pt. I, p. 661.

² *Ibid.*, v. XX, pt. II, p. 545.

³ *Ibid.*, v. XXI, pt. I, p. 243.

Probably the leisure which this prosperity gave Heywood was used for his literary work. Peacham has told us that Heywood's *Epigrams* were written at his country place in North Mims. The *Epigrams*, however, were written at various times, and so this does not help us to suggest any protracted retirement into the country for the purpose of literary work. The first of the 'Proverbs and Epigrams' series was his *Dialogue of Proverbs concerning Marriage*, published in 1546 by T. Berthelet. Later editions of this popular *Dialogue* included his *Epigrams upon Proverbs*, and also the subsequent *Epigrams*. From the remains we have of the literature of this period, it is not hazardous to suggest that Heywood was the reigning wit, especially in court circles. Warton quotes from a contemporary manuscript an interview that shows the interest which was then prevalent in old proverbs and in Heywood's efforts to bring them all together in one book.

William Paulett, Marques of Wynchester and highe treasurer of Engelande, being presented by John Heywoode with a booke, asked him what yt conteyned? and when Heywoode told him 'All the proverbes in Englishe'—'What, all?' quoth my Lorde; 'No, *Bate me an ace*,' quoth Bolton, 'is that in youre booke?' 'No, by my faith, my Lorde, I thinke not,' aunswered Heywoode.⁴

A well-known anecdote told in *The Arte of English Poesie* shows Heywood the courtier a guest of men of power and rank who tolerated what might be impudence in others for what they considered sparkling wit in him.

The like hapned on a time at the Duke of Northumberlandes bourd, where merry *Iohn Heywood* was allowed to sit at the tables end. The Duke had a very noble and honorable mynde alwayes to pay his debts well, and when he lacked money would not stick to sell the greatest part of his plate: so had he done few dayes before. *Heywood*, being loth to call for his drinke so oft as he was dry, turned his eye toward the cupbord and say'd 'I finde great misse of your

⁴ Cotton Ms. Jul. f.x. Also Warton. *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, v. III, p. 376.

graces standing cups': the Duke, thinking he had spoken it of some knowledge that his plate was lately sold, said somewhat sharply, 'why, Sir, will not those cuppes serue as good a man as yourselfe.' Heywood readily replied: 'Yes if it please your grace, but I would haue one of them stand still at myne elbow full of drinke, that I might not be driuen to trouble your men so often to call for it.' This pleasant and speedy reuers of the former wordes holpe all the matter againe, whereupon the Duke became very pleasaunt and dranke a bolle of wine to Heywood, and bid a cup should alwayes be standing by him.⁵

Many other witty sallies and anecdotes of Heywood are preserved, showing for what sort of puns and quick turns of speech his contemporaries regarded him as a brilliant wit.

Jasper Heywood about this time was a page of honor to Princess Elizabeth. This must have been when he was a small boy, for at the age of twelve he was sent to Oxford, in 1547, and in 1553 was elected a fellow of Merton College. This position was, in a way, more of an honor to the father than a compliment to his son, and is but another evidence of Heywood's favor and intimacy at court.⁶

On Feb. 13, 1552, Heywood was paid by Princess Elizabeth thirty shillings for his services at an entertainment given for her, together with the king's drummer and fifer, and Sebastian Westcott and his Paul's boys.⁷ Discussion concerning his services at this event will be taken up presently. It is important, however, to see Heywood participating in affairs about the court which are in addition to his regular duties of player on virginals and steward in the king's chamber. His appointment as *dapifer camerae* was renewed this year, on March 4th, at an increased salary of 40*li.* a year.

For the holiday festivities in January, 1553, Heywood had prepared a play for the young King Edward. It is interest-

⁵ G. G. Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, v. II, p. 180.

⁶ Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, v. IV, p. 212.

⁷ *Household Accounts of Princess Elizabeth*, Camden Miscellany, v. II, p. 37. Also *Antiquarian Repertory*, v. I, p. 66.

ing to see how the drama of the court at this time became adapted to pieces of juvenile entertainment. For this year's revels there were masks of the Greeks, "another of Medioxes being half deathe, half man," one of bagpipes, of cats, of tumblers "goinge upon theyre handes with theyr feete vpward," and finally a play of the *State of Ireland*, and "another of childerne sett owte by Mr. Haywood & diuers other playes & pastymes."⁸ At other places in the account books of the Revels, this play of Ireland was confused with Heywood's play, but this has been straightened out and the piece identified as a play by William Baldwin. What play was Heywood's? There is not even a conjecture to be made concerning this lost work. The young king was sick during the holidays, and so these plays "were lefte of by commaundmente the kinge then being syck and the shewe of all the tryumphe and toe playes deferred tyll Easter and Maydaye nexte folowinge." The expenses amounted to 138*li.* 10*s.* 6*d.* They were presented, we find, in the spring, with additional charges above these costs of 11*li.* 7*s.* 4*d.*⁹

⁸ Feuillerat, *Revels Edw. & Mary*, pp. 140, 145, 288, esp. 134.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

VII of Edward VI. From February 28, 1552/3, to April 1, 1553.

"yet more of the Charges aforseyde with thappareling and furnishing of ye seide tooe playes videlicet of Ierland and yt haywood made The payebooke aswell of all and singuler the wages and hyre of Artyfycers. woorkmen officers and other mynisters and attendauntes woorkin and attendinge thereon as of all manner of emptions prouisions caryages and other necessary charges of the same and therefore done bowghte and provided betwene the laste daye of februarye aforeseide in Anno vij^{mo} Regis predicti and the fyrste daye of aprell nexte ensuinge in the same yeare done by specyall commaundement vpon a newe determynacion of the kinges pleasure ageanste Easter & Mayedaye. with the names of the persones and expression of the percels and somes of mony to them and therefore payed & defrayed as herunder pertyculerly ensueth.

Taylours woorkinge vpon thapparrell and furnytüre of an Irisshe playe & a playe that haywood made with repere and alteracion of certen other

This reference to Heywood's play and the children who enacted it, as well as the other information we have about Heywood's children and his plays, brings up definitely a discussion about his connection with either the Chapel Royal or the Paul's boys, or some independent organization of boy actors, such as the "king's children," which Collier suggests.

The precise relationship of the Chapel Royal and the singing-school of St. Paul's, and also of various other schools for boys, to the contemporary drama, is one of the nice problems confronting all who study the mid-sixteenth century literature of England. The Chapel Royal was an ancient institution, with its records very incomplete. "But it entered the histrionic field early; it was, if we may trust the extant records, a pioneer in the production of some important kinds of plays; some of its authors seem to have set fashions in dramatic composition; and Shakespeare himself honoured its rivalry with one of the few clear notices of things contemporary that we have from his pen."¹⁰ This choral organization ranged from 24 to 38 men, and from 8 to 12 children. It is mentioned in the *Red Book of the Exchequer* in 1135, at which time it probably confined its activities to religious music. The children of the Chapel are mentioned in 1420, when Henry V ordered a cleric to bring the boys to Normandy, and in 1490 we hear of the children acting in the Christmas "disportes." The gentlemen of the Chapel also acted in plays, up to the year 1553. After the reign of

other masking garmentes by the daye & nighte the yeman at ij s workmen at viij d and the clerk xvij d.

etc etc Summa — xj^{li} vij^s iij^d "

p. 142

"Lynnen Draper. Iohn Robertes for xxiiij^{ti} ells of lockeram for the }
making of xij cotes for the boyes in heywoodes playe at xij^d ye ell } xxiiij^s
Summa—patet"

¹⁰ Manly, *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, v. VI, p. 279. See also citations from *Liber Niger Domini Regis* in Rimbault, *Old Cheque Book of Chapel Royal*.

Edward VI only the children of the Chapel are heard of in connection with dramatic performances.¹¹ There were in the organization of this society a "Master of Song" and a "Master of Grammar." One of these masters in all probability developed into a sort of resident dramatist, writing plays for the children to act before the king. "But the *repertoire* of the boys was not confined, even in the early years of their histrionic career, to plays written by their masters."¹²

Entertainments were popular with Henry VIII, especially in the earlier half of his reign. Masks, interludes, plays, dances, pageants, and any form of show were encouraged by royal patronage, and the men who devised them were liberally rewarded. For example, John Kite, who was chaplain and subdean of the Chapel Royal, gave plays, disguisings, and took part in the revels for Henry VIII. He served under the mastership of William Cornish, and so won the king's favor that in 1513 he was made Bishop of Armagh, stepping up to the cathedra directly from the boards of the stage.¹³

There were also the "King's Players," a small band of men who enacted interludes at court, who traveled abroad as professional actors when they were not required by the king. Henry VII had four such players in 1494, at an annual fee of 5 marks. Henry VIII increased the number to eight, and these can be traced on the books well into Elizabeth's reign.¹⁴ Cardinal Wolsey also boasted of a chapel organization which vied with the king's. It was composed of a Dean, Subdean, Repeater of the Choir, Gospeller, Epistler, twelve singing priests, and "of Scholars he had first, a Master of the Children; twelve singing children; sixteen singing men; with a servant

¹¹ Rimbault, *Old Cheque Book of Chapel Royal*, Intro. Also C. Wallace, *Children of Chapel Royal*, p. 2 ff.

¹² Manly, *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, v. VI, p. 287.

¹³ Brewer, *Letters & Papers Hen. VIII*, v. I, no. 928. Chambers, *Med. Stage*, v. II, p. 193, and C. Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 27 ff.

¹⁴ Chambers, *Med. Stage*, v. II, p. 187.

to attend upon the said children.”¹⁵ As Wolsey gave plays and entertainments quite as frequently as his king, he doubtless did not rely upon professional actors when he had so good a possibility for dramatic performances in his own household. One of the interesting records of Wolsey’s chapel shows his gentlemen playing the *Menaechmi* of Plautus before him in January, 1527.¹⁶

In addition to various “outside companies” of adult actors who received protection and patronage from the powerful lords, there were the Paul’s boys, who gave occasional court performances. Like the Chapel Royal, the choir school of St. Paul’s Cathedral was of ancient origin. Perhaps its dramatic history is very much like that of the Chapel, beginning with religious music, then providing musical entertainment, and gradually evolving into a band of acting children. Notice of the choristers of St. Paul’s occurs so far back as 1378, when they addressed a petition to Richard II regarding the presentation of a History of the Old Testament.¹⁷ It is of course clear that this singing-school is not the school which Dean Colet founded in 1512. This grammar school was established, by funds from Colet’s private fortune, in the eastern end of St. Paul’s churchyard, and consisted of a schoolhouse, a large schoolroom, and houses for two masters. An estate in Buckinghamshire was transferred to the Mercers Company to provide salaries for the teachers. Later there was a chaplain to teach divinity. Linacre wrote a Latin grammar for the boys. Colet had corresponded with Erasmus about his project, and secured his interest. A syntax was written by the first master, William Lily, which was revised by Colet and later by Erasmus himself. Erasmus also wrote a Latin phrase-book for the school. The *Eton Latin Grammar* in

¹⁵ Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, p. 34.

¹⁶ *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, 1527-33, No. 4. C. Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 88, etc.

¹⁷ Collier, *Annals*, v. I, p. 17.

use today is but a revision of this early Paul's grammar of Lily, Colet and Erasmus. Under Lily as headmaster, John Rightwise served as sur-master.¹⁸ The boys in Colet's school were not choristers, but they, like the boys of the other grammar schools of Eton, Westminster, and Hitchen, produced and enacted plays. These Coletine Paul's boys should not be confused, as they often are, with the choir boys of St. Paul's cathedral. When the Paul's boys act with Master Rightwise before Henry in 1527, we know these are the children of the grammar school; when Sebastian Westcott brings his children before Queen Elizabeth in 1559 (when Heywood was present), and on many other occasions when Westcott's name appears, we know these are the choristers of the cathedral organization.¹⁹

Heywood, in his business of entertaining the court, must have known the king's interlude players who were maintained as part of the royal establishment. He doubtless came into contact with other adult players who were available at court. The Queen's men, a group of perhaps four or five professionals, acted under the patronage of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary. This company toured in the country, for they are recorded at Southampton (1530/1), Canterbury (1543/4), Norwich (1546), Bristol (1547), Ipswich (1555/6), Leicester, Norwich, and Oxford (1556/7).²⁰ During the reign of Edward VI, the Queen's men were probably under the license and patronage of Catherine Parr.

The Chapel choir of Windsor Castle probably contributed to court drama in Heywood's day. On March 8, 1560, Elizabeth, mindful of the former reputation of this organization, ordered its improvement, and empowered her agent to take recruits from any choral body they pleased, save only her Chapel Royal, and St. Paul's. After 1568 the reconstructed

¹⁸ *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, v. III, pp. 12-3.

¹⁹ Lupton, *Colet*, p. 154 ff. Collier, *Annals*, v. I, pp. 110, 190, 279, etc.

²⁰ J. T. Murray, *English Dramatic Companies*, v. I, pp. 3, 4, 17.

company presented plays regularly at court.²¹ Several of the important noblemen maintained choirs in their households, very probably using the boys in interludes as the king or Wolsey did with their private chapel groups. Sometimes boys were brought in to supplant adult actors, as with the Duke of Norfolk, who patronized a company of men until 1564/5 and after that date permitted the children of his chapel to give plays,²² evidently disbanding the others. It is probable that both Mary and Elizabeth had their own companies when they were princesses. "My lade prynces plears" gave several performances between 1530 and 1538, also four players of "Our Lord Prince" Edward acted between 1537 and 1540.²³

Many other companies flourished under the protection of great men while Heywood was at court. It is impossible to state, from the records now available, what groups came under his observation, or to speculate upon his possible connection with any of them. A suggestive list of important companies of professional actors, all in existence before 1558, is taken from records cited by Murray:

- Earl of Arundel's players
- Earl of Bath's players
- The Lord Privy Seal's players (Lord Cromwell)
- Marquis of Dorset's players
- Earl of Sussex's players (Lord & Lady Fitzwalter)
- Lord Lisle's players
- Duke of Norfolk's players
- Duke of Somerset's players (Lord Protector)
- Duke and Duchess of Suffolk's players
- Lord Chancellor's players
- Sir Thomas Challoner's players
- Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports' players
- Lord Admiral's players (Duke of Northumberland)
- Duke of Richmond's players.²⁴

²¹ J. T. Murray, *English Dramatic Companies*, v. I, p. 338.

²² *Ibid.*, v. II, pp. 59, 61.

²³ *Ibid.*, v. II, appendix G, p. 297 ff.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, v. II, pp. 20-23.

From the early part of the century Heywood, in his service at court, dealt with many dramatic organizations. He had the advantages of association with the Chapel Royal, Wolsey's choir, Windsor Chapel, the king's players and other companies of professionals who came to court for occasional performances, the amateurs who played with More and Rastell in their theatricals, the players in the households of great men, and the boys in the schools under the mastership of such men as Redford and Udall, who were his personal friends. It is possible that as a youth he was a singer in the Chapel Royal. He may have known or even served under William Newark, master of the Chapel until 1509. William Cornish succeeded Newark, and was master until 1523. Cornish must have been well known to Heywood. Wallace goes so far as to say, "Heywood had grown up in the chapel under Cornish, and must have sung and acted in numerous pageants and plays of the master."²⁵ But there is no evidence of Heywood's connection with Cornish, nor is there any record showing that Heywood was ever a member of the Chapel Royal, either as a youth or as a man. But when he was court musician he would naturally come into contact with other musicians, such as Cornish. Beyond this point it is dangerous to guess. If Heywood held any position in the Chapel, it certainly did not prevent him from associating closely with the Paul's choir.

Was Heywood ever a master of the children of the Chapel Royal, or of the children of St. Paul's? He was a trained singer, a skilled dramatist, one in favor at court and possessed a good knowledge of the requirements of court entertainment, of the rehearsing and production of plays and interludes. He was eligible, surely, for such a position. And there are references to Heywood's plays for children; he was paid for appearing with "his children," with the boys of

²⁵ C. Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 77.

St. Paul's and perhaps of the Chapel. There is enough room for such inference, then, and such inference has been made.

The suggestion that Heywood was master of St. Paul's is made by Chambers. "From about 1515 he was employed at court; in 1519 he is called a 'singer,' later a 'player at virginals,' and finally he was master of a company of children, possibly the singing-school of St. Paul's." Again he states more definitely, "He was put in charge of the singing-school of St. Paul's, the boys of which probably performed his plays."²⁶ Feuillerat, having gone over the references to Heywood's children, agrees with Chambers, that Heywood was a master of the choristers of St. Paul's. He objects to the assertion that Heywood was a master of the children of the Chapel Royal, made by Wallace.²⁷ The item concerning Heywood's boys is found in the revels accounts of Edward VI, 1553, already referred to:

Lynnen Draper. Iohn Robertes for xxiiij^{li} ells of locheram for the making of xij cotes for the boyes in Heywoodes playe at xijd ye ell.

But the fact that the Chapel children or the Paul's boys were not mentioned in this entry makes it hazardous to guess which company of boys this was.²⁸ As we have seen, Westcott was master of the Paul's boys at this time. But in any case, this reference would not necessarily show that Heywood was a regular master in either organization. Feuillerat points out that in no documents available does Heywood appear as master or member of the Chapel during this period.²⁹

²⁶ Chambers, *Med. Stage*, v. II, pp. 196, 203, 443.

²⁷ Feuillerat, *Revels Edw. & Mary*, p. 288, also p. 142.

²⁸ Collier, *Annals*, v. I, p. 92, suggests he was master of an independent company, "the King's children."

²⁹ Feuillerat, *Revels Edw. & Mary*, p. 288. Mrs. C. C. Stopes, *William Hunnis & Chapel Royal*, p. 142, says, "There are some notices which seem to suggest that, at one time, Heywood was master of the children, but never regularly appointed by formal patent."

There are three other references, however, which mention Heywood in connection with children. In March, 1538, he received 40s. for "playeng an enterlude with his Children" before Princess Mary.³⁰ Also on Feb. 13, 1552, he was employed at the entertainment for Elizabeth; "paid in rewarde to the Kinges Maiesties drommer and phipher . . . xxs.; Mr. Heywoodde xxxs.; and to Sebastian, towards the charge of the children with the carriage of the plaiers garments, iij*li*. xixs." ³¹ Again, in August, 1559, before Queen Elizabeth there was a "play of the chylderyn of Powlles, and ther master Se(bastian), master Phelypes, and master Heywood, and after a grett bankett," etc.³²

Thus Heywood is mentioned four times in connection with performances given by children over a long stretch of years—in 1538, 1552, 1553, and 1559. With the information now available concerning the Chapel Royal and St. Paul's school, it would seem that if Heywood were ever connected with either institution in any official capacity during these twenty years, there would be some contemporary mention of that fact. Of all the records and notices we possess concerning Heywood, there is not a single one which would lead us directly to believe he was ever a master of children. The instances of his performing with the Paul's boys in 1552 and in 1559 are not sufficient, for both times Master Westcott is mentioned as in charge of the children. Sebastian Westcott was master of the Paul's boys at that time, and continued to be long after Heywood left England. But though Heywood was not in charge of the Paul's children, he was in some close relation with them in these two entertainments at least.

Another very slight connection with the St. Paul's school is noticed in a manuscript volume of John Redford's, containing

³⁰ Madden, *Privy Purse Exp. Mary*, p. 62; Ellis, *Orig. Letters*, I, 273

³¹ *Household Acct. Princess Elizabeth*, p. 37; also *Antiquarian Repertory*, v. I, p. 66; C. Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 84.

³² Machyn, *Diary*, p. 206.

his own *Wit and Science* and also nine ballads (perhaps more) written by Heywood, along with others by Redford, with lyrics and music, to be sung in interludes played by the Paul's boys when Redford was master of them.³³ But this in no way shows any connection of an official nature with the school. Holinshed tells us, moreover, that Heywood sat in a pageant under a vine in St. Paul's churchyard and made an oration to Queen Mary when she passed in her coronation procession. It seems that on other occasions of this sort the entertainment given at this station was generally by someone directly connected with the institution itself. For instance, Hall tells that during a procession for Anne Boleyn in 1533, two hundred children, well appareled, stood on a scaffold and recited to her. For Philip, in 1554, a Latin oration was made at this place by Dr. Harpesfield. When Elizabeth made her progress through the city in 1559, a child of the school pronounced a Latin oration and delivered to her Majesty a copy of it fairly written on paper. For James I, in 1603, the choristers sang an anthem, after which a Latin speech was made by one of Master Mulcaster's scholars.³⁴ This point cannot be urged as evidence that Heywood was a master in the school, but it shows at least a friendly relationship there.

In order to establish the inference that Heywood was, on the other hand, a master of the Chapel Royal, Wallace reasons that because Princess Mary gave presents to the children of the Chapel, as in 1536, 1542, 1543, and 1544, they were naturally in her favor; hence when Heywood played with some children before her in 1538, these were Chapel children, and he was their master.³⁵ This, of course, is not convincing. Wallace continues, moreover, to state, "A year later, for Shrovetide of the final year of Edward VI, 1553, the Revels Office prepared

³³ *Brit. Mus. Add. Mss.* 15233, Redford. Also see C. Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 85.

³⁴ Nichols, *London Pageants*, pp. 41, 51, 53, 57, 63.

³⁵ C. Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 84.

apparel for the twelve children of the Chapel in a 'playe that Haywood mad'," etc.³⁶ Unfortunately, the documents do not state that these twelve children are from the Chapel Royal, and so this item fails to identify Heywood's children.

The data at hand, then, do not favor the belief that Heywood was officially connected with either the Chapel or the St. Paul's schools. It is much safer to assume, and there is nothing to contradict the assumption, that Heywood was never connected with either institution as a master of boys, but that he frequently acted as a master of festivities, perhaps also as a dramatic "coach" for these and other companies of boys. None of the men whom we know to have been masters of children was so loaded with court duties; and this is a strong argument against Heywood's having constant charge of a band of children which would in all probability have taken most of his time. Instead, we find him a steward of the chamber, a court musician, an occasional dramatist, a Catholic partisan, a wit and poet of wide activity. In other words, we have ample record of Heywood's many occupations during the years in which he is supposed to have been a pedagogue. This record is a full one, one that should satisfy us without further attempt to burden him with another position for which there is not sufficient evidence to establish it with any degree of certainty.

A fortnight after the unnamed play by Heywood was enacted before King Edward, at Easter and Mayday, 1553, the young monarch was dead and Mary became queen of England. Heywood, it may be believed, was not among the last to rejoice over this event. Her coronation was held in the fall of 1553. On September 30th, Stow tells us, "In Pauls Churchyard against the Schoole, one Master Haywood sate in a pageant under a vine, and made to her an Oration in Latine and English."³⁷ In October Mary made an Agreement of

³⁶ C. Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 84.

³⁷ Stow, *Annals*, p. 617.

Marriage with Philip II of Spain, and in July, 1554, the marriage was consummated.

Such a Catholic as Heywood could not have been greatly displeased with this match; at least his misgivings were stilled when he wrote "A Ballad Specifying partly the Manner, partly the Matter, in the most excellent Meeting and like Marriage between our Sovereign Lord and our Sovereign Lady the King's and Queen's Highness, penned by John Heywood." Park has pointed out that Vargas, a Spanish poet, is said by Puttenham to have been rewarded with a pension of two hundred crowns during life, for an epithalamie, or nuptial song, on the marriage of Mary and Philip. Heywood also may have furbished up his courtly pen in the anticipation of a similar recompense for these preposterously flattering verses on the same event.³⁸ This allegorical poem describes the marriage of the eagle (Spain) with the lion (England), but in order that the lion might represent the Lady Mary more fittingly, it was—

no rampant lion masculine,
The lamb-like lion feminine.

This poem has obvious resemblances to Chaucer's *Parliament of Foules*, and is one of many instances of Heywood's debts to this poet.

The ballad was an effective one, no matter how poor in poetry, for on December 29th, 1554, was signed a grant to Heywood of various lands in Kent, to be held by him for 40 years, his expectation of life. This gave him an additional income of 100*li*.³⁹ In the next year, April 5, 1555, his office as "sewer" to Mary is renewed at 50*li*. per annum.

This is Heywood's most flourishing period. About this time he was working on his long poem, *The Spider and the Fly*,

³⁸ Park, *Harleian Miscellany*, v. X, p. 255.

³⁹ *Patent Rolls, 1 & 2 Phil. & Mary*, pt. 8, m. 40. Also see Sharman, *Proverbs of Heywood*, xlv. and C. Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 83.

which was printed by Thomas Powell in 1556. The conclusion of the poem was written after the spring of 1556, for it introduces the execution of the Protestant Archbishop Cranmer, who was burned at Oxford in March of that year. Bishop Gardiner of Winchester and Cardinal Reginald Pole were now in power. Gardiner and Heywood, we know, were old friends, both being unpleasantly implicated in the plot to prosecute Cranmer in 1543. Cardinal Pole had been an old friend of Sir Thomas More's and was intimate with Heywood. Ellis, Heywood's elder son, had been secretary to Pole and went to Italy with him. He remained in Italy when Pole came to England to take charge of papal interests under Queen Mary, but he dedicated to Pole his book about Sir Thomas More, a fictitious dialogue representing More's conversations with the learned men of his times, entitled *Il Moro d'Heliseo Heuiodo Inglese*. From Italy Ellis went to Dillingen, Germany, after becoming a Jesuit. Both he and his brother Jasper were engaged in educational work in Germany. We shall meet with Ellis again in the next chapter, at the close of his father's life.

In this time of Heywood's prosperity Bishop Bale notices him as a contemporary poet. In his *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, collected 1549-1557, Bale merely lists some of the works then known to him.⁴⁰ In the enlarged *Scriptorum Illustrium Catalogus*, however, he gives a valuable account of Heywood, under "Scriptores nostri Temporis" (1557-1558):

⁴⁰ John Bale: (1549 to 1557) *Index Britanniae Scriptorum quos ex variis bibliothecis non parvo labore collegit Ioannes Baleus, cum aliis*. Ed. Reginald Lane Poole and Mary Bateson, Oxford, 1902

Ioannes Heywode, scripsit,
Comediam de Aura
Tragediam de amore
De quadruplici P.
Epigrammata faceta
Atque alia plura
Ex officina Roberti Toye.

Perlongum iam esset
nunc tandem concipere

JOANNES HEYVUODE, ciuis Londinensis, musices ac rhythmicæ artis in sua lingua studiosus, & siue doctrina ingeniosus, pro choreis post comessationes & epulas hilariter ducendis, spectaculis, ludis, aut personatis ludicris exhibendis, aliisque uanitatibus fouendis, multum laborabat, ediditque

De aura comoediam,	Lib. 1.
De amore tragoediam,	Lib. 1.
De quadruplici P.	Lib. 1.
Centum epigrammata,	Lib. 1.
Ducenta alia epigrammata,	Lib. 1.
Epigrammata prouerbiala,	Lib. 1.

Sed promouenda ueritate nihil egit, ueritatis fastiditor. Vixit ille Domini 1556.⁴¹

In this account Bale lists the *First* and *Second Hundred Epigrams*, but no mention is made of the later series. This shows that by 1556 (evidently the date at which Bale wrote this) these earlier epigrams were printed. It has been said that the *Epigrams* were first printed separately on flyleaves or broadsides, long before they were published in the collected edition of 1562.⁴² Perhaps from many of these occasional broadsides Heywood later collected his series of six hundred *Epigrams*.

Heywood's intimacy with Queen Mary has been mentioned by many biographers. Camden has preserved for us a few of his witticisms which show his ease before her, as well as the kind of repartee for which he was famed.⁴³ Ben Jonson also

⁴¹ Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrium Catalogus*, v. II, p. 110.

⁴² Farmer, *Proverbs, Epigrams & Miscel.*, p. 329.

⁴³ *Remains Concerning Britain*, by William Camden. Library of Old Authors, London, John Russell Smith, 1870, p. 314.

Now we draw to an end, have a few sayings of merry M. Heywood, the first Epigrammatist. When Queen Mary told this Heywood that the Priests must forgo their wives, he merrily answered, "Your Grace must allow them Lemons then, for the Clergy cannot live without sawce."

He being asked of the said Queen Mary, what wind blew him to the Court, answered her, "Two specially the one to see your Majesty"—"We

gives us an account, in his *Conversations with Drummond*, which is interesting in this connection:

Heywood the Epigramatist being apparelled in velvet by Queen Mary, with his cap on in the presence, in spite of all the Gentlemen, till the Queen herself asked him what he meant? and then he asked her, If he was Heywood? for she had made him so brave that he almost had misknowen himself.

Jonson also said, "His Impressa was a compass with one foot in the center, the other broken, the word, *Deest quod duceret orbem*."⁴⁴ It is difficult to believe that Heywood did forget himself before the queen. The story looks as if she had advanced him to some favorable office, perhaps as gentleman of her chamber, and had ordered new livery for him. He, having a pun in mind, provoked the utterance of it by his behavior. The Impressa worn by Heywood was a jewel or decoration worn in his hat, on which was embroidered a motto. The mutual dependence of the legs of a pair of compasses was often in Jonson's mind, and so this detail was curiously remembered by him.⁴⁵

thank you for that," said Queen Mary; "but I pray you, what is the other?" "That your Grace," said he, "might see me."

When one told him that Pace, being a Master of Art, had disgraced himself with wearing a fool's Coat, he answered, "It is less hurtful to the common-weal, when wise men go in fools Coats, than when fools go in wise men's gowns."

When he saw one riding that bare a wanton behind him, he said, "In good faith, Sir, I would say that your horse were over-loaden, if I did not perceive the gentlewoman you carry were very light."

When a man of worship, whose beer was better hopped than maulted, asked him at his table how he liked his Beer, and whether it were well hopped, "Yes, by the faith of my body," said he, "it is very well hopped; but if it had hopped a little further, it had hopped into the water."

When one said, that the number of Lawyers would marr the occupation, he answered, "No, for always the more Spaniels in the field, the more game."

⁴⁴ *Works of Ben Jonson*, Gifford ed. 1875, v. IX, pp. 407-8.

⁴⁵ Is it not possible that Heywood's motto was worn after Philip's departure from his bride, and that it refers to her loneliness and incompleteness in a delicate manner?

On December 4th, 1554, Nicholas Udall received payment as a sort of court dramatist. This position would have brought Heywood and Udall together, if they were not already known to each other. Udall was engaged in 1542 in translating the *Apothegms* of Erasmus. Naturally Heywood would be interested in Erasmus and his works, so intimately connected with Sir Thomas More. Princess Mary also was interested in Udall's translation of Erasmus' *Paraphrase* of the New Testament (ca. 1545-8). Udall, however, was employed on the Protestant side in the intervening years before he was made court dramatist, but there was at least the bond of dramatic interest between these two men. Udall saw with pleasing willingness the error of his Protestant ways for Mary, as Heywood had renounced the Catholics for Henry, and to save his own life. Udall's literary indebtedness to Heywood has already been noticed by Professor J. W. Hales.⁴⁶ "In *Ralph Roister Doister*, Udall even drew for expression freely upon Heywood's *Proverbs* (1546) and in *Respublica* he used the same theme that was just then hot under Heywood's hand in the *Spider and the Flie*—all of which falls in harmoniously with other evidences that both these children's plays date from the period of pleasant intercourse between these two poets at court."⁴⁷ Boas has pointed out Heywood's superiority over Udall in his incisive wit and pregnant expression. He sees Udall excel Heywood only in his dramatic form, one which led to the establishment of English comedy on a more classical basis than we could have from the interlude and farce of Heywood.⁴⁸

The hopes of Heywood and other Catholics who were now

⁴⁶ Gayley, *Rep. English Comedies*, v. I, pp. 92-96.

⁴⁷ C. Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 97.

⁴⁸ Boas, *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, v. V, p. 105. But Flügel, in Gayley, *Rep. English Comedies*, v. I, pp. 92-96, denies that Udall used Heywood's *Proverbs*; if any similarities exist they merely show that both men were familiar with common phrases and proverbs of the early sixteenth century.

rejoicing under the rule of Queen Mary were not lasting. Her health, by 1558, was failing rapidly and early in November she and those who were near her knew that the end was at hand. Nearly all the early writers on Heywood tell that when Mary was on her death-bed, Heywood rallied and cheered her by his witty sallies and that he was admitted to intimate discourse with her. He was not only an old court servant but had been to her a life-long friend, and doubtless performed for her such last services as were in his power.

These attentions were not unappreciated. Mary wished to reward him with benefits that no Protestant successor could legally take from him. It was perhaps upon her advice, then, that he resigned his position of steward of the chamber which he had held since 1528. The entry of renewal of this office, dated April 5, 1555, is crossed out and in the margin is written "*Vacat. 12 Nov. 1558,*" showing the surrender and cancellation of this position.⁴⁹ At the same time Mary granted him a lease on the manor of Bolmer for 40 years, and other lands in Yorkshire, which yielded him a rent of 30*li.* for his life and 51*li.* 10*s.* for the rest of the term.⁵⁰

Thus the manor of Bolmer returned to the hands of a loyal Catholic. It had been attainted in 1535, as Grafton tells, "Also in the latter end of this yere . . . Iohn Bulmer and his wife . . . began againe to conspire, although they before had their pardons; and nowe they were all taken and brought to the Tower of London." And, "shortly after were also arraigned . . . syr John Bulmer and his wife, which some reported was not his wife, but his paramour, . . . and all founde guiltie of high treason, and all put to death at Tiborne . . . sir Iohn Bulmers Paramour was brent in Smithfield in London." ⁵¹

⁴⁹ C. Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 82.

⁵⁰ *Calendar of State Papers, Ed. Mary & Eliz. Domestic*, v. I, p. 112.

⁵¹ Grafton, *Chronicle*, v. II, pp. 461-2.

A few days after this grant was made to Heywood, Mary died and Elizabeth came to the throne. Wallace and other recent writers have followed the general statement that as soon as Elizabeth began her rule Heywood fled from England for fear of his life.⁵² This, however, is not the case. Elizabeth knew Heywood well, and in all probability valued his wit and abilities, just as Mary did in the case of Udall, and was willing to overlook his religious bias. Almost a year after this, in August, 1559, Henry Machyn in his funereal diary tells of an entertainment given for her by Heywood, Westcott, and the Paul's children.⁵³ We find Heywood still associated with court entertainments, although no information is given concerning his personal services. Perhaps he was still valued as a director of festivities and courtly revels.⁵⁴

⁵² Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 83; also Ward, *D. N. B.*, Gayley, Fuller, Langbaine, etc. etc.

⁵³ *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, from 1550 to 1563, edited by John G. Nichols. Camden Society, London, 1848, p. 206 (Year 1559).

The v day of August the Quen('s) |grace removyd from Eltham unto Non-shyche, my lord of Arundell('s), and ther her grace had as gret cher evere nyght, and bankettes; but the sonday at nyght my lord of Arundell('s) howse mad her a grett bankett at ys cost, the wyche kyng Henry the viij byldyd, as ever was sene, for soper, bankett, and maske, with drumes and flutes, and all the mysyke that cold be, tyll mydnyght; and as for chere has nott bene sene nor hard. (On Monday) the Quen('s) grace stod at her standyng (in the further park,) and ther was corse after; and at nyght the Quen . . . and a play of the chylderyn of Powlles, and ther master Se(bastian), master Phelypes, and master Haywod, and after a grett bankett as (ever was s)ene, with drums and flutes, and the goodly banketts of dishes costely as ever was sene and gyldyd, tyll iij in mornyng; and ther was skallyng of yonge lordes and knyghtes of the . . .

My lord of Arundell gayffe to the Quen('s) grace a cubard of platt.

The x day of August, the wyche was sant Laurans day, the Quen('s) grace removyd from Non-shyche unto Hamtun cowrte.

⁵⁴ Before this date there had been a period of closed theatres, as Machyn tells, (*Diary* p. 193):

The viij day of Aprell (1559) there was a proclamasion of peese between the Quene's Grace and Hare the French kyng, and Dolphyn the kyng of

It is hazardous to suggest the date of Heywood's departure from England. The next chronological record of him is a new edition of his *Proverbs* which appeared in 1561, "newly overseen and somewhat corrected." Also in 1562 his *Proverbs* and *Epigrams* were published under the title *John Heywoodes Woorkes*. It is possible, of course, that the over-seeing and correcting were done and advertised by his printer as a device to help the sale of his already popular *Proverbs*, but at least there is no information at hand which would tend to contradict the assumption that Heywood was in England, and actually did oversee and correct his *Proverbs*, in 1561. The publication of his *Woorkes* in 1562 was a heavy undertaking, one which would require much proof-reading and careful arrangement of the material, all of which the author could do best himself. It is not rash, then, to suppose Heywood was in London in 1562. Another edition of his *Epigrams and Proverbs* appeared in 1566, and many more followed. But by that time Heywood had fled from his native land, one of many thousands who "suffered for religion's sake" beyond the seas.

Skottes . . . ; and Bluw-Mantyll dyd proclaymyd that no players shuld play no more tyll a serten tyme of no mans players; but the mare or shreyff, balle, constabull, or odur offesers take them, lay them in presun, and the quen's commondement layd on them.

CHAPTER IV

THE CATHOLIC EXILE

UNTIL quite recently it was generally believed that Heywood died at Malines, or Mechlin, in 1565.¹ It is probable that a Wood knew Heywood was in exile about this date, at Malines. This is suggested, also, by Bang's recent discovery of William Rastell's will, which was written and signed when he was in exile at Antwerp, August 8, 1564. In this will Rastell says, "Item, do et lego Domino Johanni Heywood, patri dicti Elizei, annulum meum aureum cum effigie capitis mortui cum nomine bonvisi."² Almost without exception, all the other beneficiaries named in this document were then in exile in the Low Countries. It would seem, therefore, that by the middle of the year 1564 Heywood was living at Malines. This ring left to Heywood came from Anthony Bonvisi, a life-long friend of Sir Thomas More's, who died in Louvain in 1558.³

But Heywood in exile was not forlorn and lost to all his friends. There were many of his intimate circle with him in the Low Countries. It is indeed doubtful if his daughter Elizabeth Donne accompanied him there, for she was married to John Donne about 1563. Nor is there any information concerning his wife, Eliza Rastell Heywood, at this time. Presumably she died before his departure from England. But his brother-in-law, William Rastell, who married Winifred Clement, the daughter of Dr. John Clement and Margaret Giggs, lived at Antwerp after he resigned his judgeship, until his death in 1565.⁴

¹ Held by a Wood, Fuller, Warton, Chalmers, Swoboda, etc.

² See Appendix No. 4, page 104.

³ Bang, *Eng. Studien*, band 38, p. 248.

⁴ See Bang, in *Eng. Studien*, band 38, p. 246, etc. for many of the members of the Heywood-More circle who were then on the continent.

Heywood's sons, and indeed his daughter Elizabeth Donne, lived to comfort their father by their good work for the Catholic cause. Both sons were the most notable Jesuits in England during Elizabeth's reign. Jasper attained some position in literature. He had attended Merton College, Oxford, and during the holidays of 1557 was Lord of Misrule, or *Rex Fabarum*.⁵ While a student he translated into English verse three tragedies of Seneca which were later included in the *Tenne Tragedies*. Shortly after, he was compelled to resign the fellowship which he held, in order to avoid being expelled for some misconduct. His benefactor, Cardinal Pole, assisted him to another fellowship but soon after this Jasper went to Italy, and from there joined the Jesuit college at Dillingen. Catholic biographers have given him much honor for opposing the Reformation at Oxford and Cambridge.⁶ Wood says that while at Oxford he "bare away the bell in disputations at home and in the public schools," and "he and his brother Ellis Heywood were for a time very wild, to the great grief of their father."⁷

Jasper Heywood also had eight poems from his pen included in Richard Edward's *Paradise of Dainty Devices*, all of which are religious and none of remarkable merit. In 1581 he led the Jesuit mission in England, and his enemies say he put on airs to such an extent that he was esteemed the Provincial of the Order. While on this mission he was greatly interested in the education of Catholic youths. He induced families to send their sons to the universities as early as they could matriculate, so they could get as much training as possible before they were sixteen, at which age the oath of allegiance and supremacy was administered. Between 1581 and 1584 eighteen boys under the age of fourteen were sent to Oxford,

⁵ Chambers, *Med. Stage*, v. I, p. 408.

⁶ Gillow, *Bib. Dicty.* also Dodd, *History*, v. II, Appendix 317, also pp. 139-140.

⁷ Ant. aWood, *Ath. Oxon.*, v. I, p. 663.

and among these were John Donne and his brother.⁸ Jasper was imprisoned in 1584 in the Tower, where his sister Elizabeth Donne was permitted to visit him.⁹ Harington in his *Epi-grams* records Jasper's answer to the Earl of Warwick's offer to relieve his need:

Thanks to that Lord that wills me good;
For I want all things saving Hay and Wood.

Jasper was shipped, with other Jesuits, out of England in 1585. He died at Naples in 1598.

After William Rastell's death in 1565, Ellis Heywood, by terms of his will, became his executor and chief beneficiary. He in turn deeded the property he inherited to the Jesuits, chiefly for their educational work, in which he was deeply interested. This document is signed at Dillingen, November, 1568. Further disposition of this property was made in 1572, so that the students at Louvain might derive benefit from the income.¹⁰

After John Heywood left England there was evidently an attempt made to sell his rights on various lands in Kent. The data concerning this matter would seem to imply that the procedure was not regular or satisfactory, for among the business transacted by the Privy Council on March 6, 1571 is the following entry:

At Grenewiche, the vijth of Marche, 1570. (1571)

Thearle of Sussex	Mr. Treasurer
Thearle of Leicester	Mr. Comptroller
The Lord Chamberlaine	Mr. Smith
The Lord Burghley	

A letter to the Justices of Peax of the countie of Kent to inquire of the matters in controversie happenid betwene William Parry and John Heywoode, and to procede therein according to lawe, and to

⁸ Jessopp, *Donne*, p. 11.

⁹ Rishton, one of the imprisoned Catholics, who was exiled with Jasper in 1585, has described the tortures the prisoners suffered. Dodd, *History*, v. III, p. 158. Camden, *Annales*, v. II, p. 412.

¹⁰ Bang, *Eng. Studien*, band 38, p. 241 ff.

recover the goodes that hath ben by the said Heywoode imbecillid awaye, to be further orderid as the lawes of the realme shall appoint.¹¹

This same year, 1571, Nicholas Sanderus published at Louvain his *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesia*. Under the heading "Viri Nobiles, ob fidem Catholicam in exilo degentes," (p. 706) we find *Iohannes Haywoodus* listed. The preface to this work is dated in the summer of 1571, and so the reference to Heywood in exile is contemporary and accurate. We know that Heywood was still residing in Malines in 1573, for Father Droeshout tells that Ellis Heywood came from England to Antwerp in that year, to transact some business with the *magistrat* of the city, and while on this visit went over to Malines to see his father. Heywood continued to reside at Malines until 1576.¹²

A very valuable bit of authentic information concerning Heywood at Malines seems to have attracted no notice whatever in previous biographical accounts. Among the mass of *State Papers* is a communication from Dr. Wilson at Antwerp to Lord Burghley, dated Dec. 20, 1574. Thomas Wilson, LL.D., well known as the author of the *Arte of Rhetorique* and other works, was at that time Elizabeth's ambassador at Antwerp, and made frequent reports upon the gossip of the exiled Catholics in the Low Countries. He was later made Secretary of State. He confessed that the Catholics were very suspicious of him, that they blamed him for making trouble for them, and that in some way he was held responsible for the delays they suffered in obtaining their pensions.¹³

In this letter, Wilson says that he has talked with "old Heywood" at Malines, where he had been visiting, and that he declared to Heywood the queen's goodness towards him. This 'goodness' was evidently a sanction given to the old man

¹¹ Dasent, *Acts Privy Council*, New ser. v. VIII, p. 16.

¹² For Droeshout's account, see page 71.

¹³ Strype, *Annals*, v. II, pt. II, p. 152 ff.

who desired to end his exile and return to England, for Wilson continues to say that "the old man was greatly comforted thereby, but he could not return before next spring because of his sickly and aged body." It is evident that Heywood felt it necessary before this to wait for explicit permission to return to England, and from this we may suspect that he left England because of some definite act of religious zeal which roused the ire of Elizabeth—in all probability relating to the Marian persecutions, especially the death of Cranmer.

Wilson adds that Heywood's son Ellis had been his "good companion formerly at Padua," and that Ellis offered to preach a sermon before him, which Wilson did not refuse; but he was careful to state that if Ellis said anything offensive about the Queen, her religion, or her magistrates, he would pluck the preacher out of the pulpit. After treating of other matters, Wilson adds that old John Heywood has written and delivered "a letter and schedule for his living" to Mr. Lee, who was probably an official associated with Wilson. He told Heywood that "the Queen was never so precise that she could not bear with men's weaknesses for their conscience in religion, and only misliked overt acts and rebellious practices."¹⁴ In this last remark there is the implication that Heywood was in exile not only for "conscience in religion," but also for "overt acts and rebellious practices," which he evidently repented of, at least to the extent of becoming no longer an undesirable resident of England in the opinion of an increasingly tolerant Protestantism. If we but knew just what these overt acts and rebellious practices were, the incidents of this part of Heywood's life would be much clearer. When we think of Heywood's long years at court when Elizabeth was princess, it is not difficult to imagine that she knew him well and not without regard, which would incline her to leniency and pity in this dark period of his life.

¹⁴ *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Ser. Elizabeth, 1572-1574*, document 1615, p. 581.

In another letter Dr. Wilson reports that the Catholics on the continent hope to get a sanction from Elizabeth permitting Ellis and Jasper Heywood, and two other Jesuits, to preach freely in England. This is evidently in preparation for the Jesuit mission to England which has already been referred to.¹⁵

Heywood did not return to England, as he had planned, in the spring of 1575. Fortunately there is preserved a letter from him to Lord Burghley written from Malines on April 18th of that year. He complains that his income has been cut off, and begs that his son, then in England, be given the arrears. He craves a pension which will keep him alive a little longer, that he may spend his last days in quiet and prayer. He is now 78 years old, and cannot live much longer; his daughter also has been deprived of income; on the continent he has been robbed by Spaniards and German soldiers of the little that he possessed.¹⁶

¹⁵ Strype, *Life & Acts Matthew Parker*, p. 366 ff.

¹⁶ A modernized abstract contained in the *State Papers* publications, is here quoted entire:

{ Apr. 18, 1575
{ Malines

John Heywood to Lord Burghley. I hear what an earnest suitor your wife is for me in my old age, when my friends are dead, my living detained from me, and the chief of it, a lease in Romney marsh, bought utterly from me, and not a penny paid for $2\frac{1}{2}$ years. God reward you and my Lady for ordering my son to send me the arrears. Beggars should not be choosers, yet I would crave to enjoy the rest of my poor living here quietly, by a patent for life, which cannot be long, as I am now 78; I will live as a poor, honest, quiet old man, and spend my time in prayer and looking to my last end. Pray appoint an Exchequer officer to help my daughter therein, that I may have my arrears, since I was proclaimed, speedily sent me, and the rest of my living, except the lease that is brought from me; and let the patent be to myself and my assigns, that I may boldly take order for my maintenance, lest it come not till I am dead, which is a day after the fair.

Dated "From Malines, where I have been spoiled by Spaniards and German soldiers of a good part of the little I had."

Mary Anne Everett Green, ed: *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, Addenda*, 1566-1579. London, 1871, p. 482.

This pathetic appeal shows Heywood at the end of his career. His spirit is broken, he is old and feeble, he has been sickly for a long time, as the letter in the previous year from Wilson shows. He has reached the point of life when his only desire is for a quiet, peaceful death.

Just what incidents lay behind his reference to being "spoiled by Spaniards and German soldiers of a good part of the little I had," of course we do not know. But the English Catholics in exile were more English than Catholic. It is evident from Wilson's correspondence, and statements by other government observers, that the English in the Low Countries had no great love for the Spaniards. The Spaniards and Germans who were fighting on the Catholic side doubtless reciprocated, and did not respect the property of Catholics any more because these Catholics were Englishmen.

This letter to Burghley suggests that, for some reason, Heywood's lands were to be taken from him, though not by direct attainder. But he held many other grants, even as late as 1577. In that year a commission was appointed to inquire into his possessions, and those of his wife, it seems. He was found to own many lands for life, at a nominal rent, and on some he held the reversion also. His wife Eliza had held land of 5*li.* yearly value, which passed by grant to her daughter, Elizabeth Donne. Heywood's lands in Kent, received from Mary, were alone worth 100*li.*, but these he evidently had to relinquish because of political offences.¹⁷

It is interesting to recall that Heywood's son-in-law, Donne, in his will, dated January 16, 1576, left money for a ring to the old man. "Item, I give and bequeath unto my cousin, John Heywood, three pounds in gold to make him a ring with a Death's head."¹⁸ Heywood's daughter was the chief beneficiary and executrix. As may be seen in William

¹⁷ Sharman, *Proverbs*, p. xlv.

¹⁸ Gosse, *Donne*, v. II, p. 357 ff.

Rastell's testament, the death's-head ring was a very popular *memento mori* at this time.

And now we come to the closing scene of Heywood's life. This is the most stirring incident of his long career as we know it, and it is particularly valuable in having been written for us by a contemporary observer.

Heywood's hopes for a quiet, peaceful end, contemplating death with prayer and meditation, were frustrated. If he left England for the peaceful security of exile, he was disappointed. He stepped almost into the midst of the bitter wars and persecutions which Catholics and Protestants were waging in the Netherlands.

After 1573, when Ellis Heywood came to Antwerp from England, on business for the Jesuits, he made his headquarters there. His education, especially his knowledge of many languages, made him very valuable to the General of the Society. Ellis went frequently to Malines to see his aged father, and to console him in his evil days. This took him so much from his work, however, that Father Mercurian, General of the Society, gave special authorization that the old man be admitted into the Jesuit College at Antwerp where his son lived, with board and lodging separate from the Fathers. This admission was made in 1576.¹⁹

Bang has printed an abstract made by one of his students from the *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus à Anvers* of Father Droeshout, S. J., the second part of which, *Le Collège 1562-78*, contains the story of the harrowing episode. This work is still in manuscript, only partially edited, composed of letters by Jesuits, of diplomatic documents, and other things. Bang has promised an edition of this valuable history.²⁰

¹⁹ Before this time, Ellis must have been sent on various journeys to England, for we read, in 1575, "Alio loco quidam Pater Eliseus diebus festis (Quadragesima) dicebat de rebus divinis ad Anglos." Papebroch, *Annales Antwerpiensis*, v. III, p. 250.

²⁰ I have not heard that this Ms. survived German vandalism at Louvain in 1914.

When the troubles between Protestants and Catholics broke out again at Antwerp in 1578, the Jesuits there decided to anticipate the worst by sending on to Cologne some of the old Fathers for whom it would be difficult to provide in the event of riot and expulsion. John Heywood, now a feeble octogenarian, was accompanied by a priest who was to take him to that city. But at the gates of the city these two were arrested by guards, partisans of Mathias and the States, and were compelled to return to the College. They were told that no Jesuits were allowed to leave unless they were all expelled together. This was in April, 1578.

The oath which the Jesuits were required to swear against Don Juan, by the Pacification of Ghent, was repudiated. After this defiance, on the day of Pentecost the mob invaded the College, ransacked it, and made all the inmates prisoners. John Heywood and his son Ellis were of course captured with them. They were all led to the port, Bierhofd, where they were compelled to embark, to be taken by water to Malines. But the Duke of Orange and Mathias could not agree upon the disposition of them. Orange dispatched a messenger to Malines, to tell the magistrates there to keep the fugitives outside the gates and not to admit them into the city. He then sent about sixty troopers by land to intercept the banished priests before they reached the walls of Malines, and there to kill all of them.

But the Jesuits, now all embarked, appealed to Mathias, who wished to save them. He had the commandant at Lierre forewarned of Orange's plot, and told him to take a goodly escort to Malines and protect the captives. He also gave word to Don Juan at Louvain that he should send a guard to protect them and take them off his hands at Malines, or on the road to Louvain.

The Jesuits arrived at Malines in the evening. The magistrates had received Orange's order, and closed the gates against them. This was about six-thirty in the evening.

But some moments before, the escort had arrived from Lierre. The Franciscans, also expelled from Antwerp, were encountered near Malines. Under the protection of the detachment from Lierre, they all set out on the road to Louvain, which was held by the Catholics. The escort sent out by Don Juan was met along the road, and under their guidance all reached Louvain, amid great rejoicing. This occurred on May 26th, 1578.²¹

Ellis Heywood suffered greatly from the shock of this experience, and we know that he died in October of this year, at Louvain. The suffering of the priests must have been greater than the hints of it given by Father Droeshout. What John Heywood experienced, the shock and the suffering, and its effect upon him, can only be imagined. This is the last record we have of him. He was then over eighty-one years of age, and probably did not recover from this violence. Perhaps he did not live through the summer, to see his devoted son die. At least it is not hazardous to say that Heywood died in the year 1578, sometime after the first of June. Father Droeshout concludes his account by saying that Heywood remembered the Society in his will, and his son Ellis also was a benefactor of the order.

The witty play of words which Pitseus gives us in his account of Heywood is held by Park to be a piece of death-bed waggery which vies with the scaffold jests of Sir Thomas More.²² Bang has already shown that John Bridgewater (or Iohannes Aquepontanus) in his *Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholi-*

²¹ Bang, in *Eng. Studien*, band 38, p. 238. Also Papebroch, *Annales Antwerpiensis* v. III, p. 452 ff.

Antwerp was the scene of greater violence than this in Nov. 1576, the year when Heywood was admitted to the Jesuit College. Dr. Th. Wilson wrote to England that the Spaniards then killed about 17,000 Protestants, he himself seeing most of them, men, women, and children, lying dead in the streets. Strype, *Annals*, v. II, pt. II, p. 2 ff.

²² See Appendix No. 5, page 168. Also Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, v. III, p. 372.

cae in Anglia, printed in 1589, mentions Heywood, and in the *Index Personarum* he is represented as "Ioan. Heiuodus N(obilis) obijt E(xul)."²³ Two years before this date, in 1587, Heywood had already been noticed and lamented as dead by Thomas Newton of Cheshire, who issued an edition of Heywood's *Epigrams*:

This Author Haywood dead and gone, and shrinde in tombe of clay,
Bifore his death by penned workes did carefully assay
To build himself a lasting tombe, not made of stone and lyme,
But better farre and richer too triumphing over Tyme.

At the close of a biography the author usually gives a summary appreciation of the subject. In this case, however, the works of Heywood are still to be discussed, and I hope that such a consideration may help to evaluate him more than abbreviated generalizations could at this point. Moreover, Heywood himself has written this summary in the closing item of his *Fifth Hundred of Epigrams*:

"Art thou Heywood with the mad merry wit?"
"Yea, forsooth, master! that same is even hit."
"Art thou Heywood that applieth mirth more than thrift?"
"Yea, sir! I take merry mirth a golden gift."
"Art thou Heywood that hath made many mad plays?"
"Yea, many plays; few good works in all my days."
"Art thou Heywood that hath made men merry long?"
"Yea, and will, if I be made merry among."
"Art thou Heywood that would be made merry now?"
"Yea, sir! help me to it now I beseech yow."

It is not an easy thing to epitomize one's life by a quip. From what we have already seen of Heywood, we know this "epigram" is unfair, in order to be fantastic. It requires one species of courage, we may believe, and some suggestion of worth, for a man to damage his own fame to make others smile.

²³ Bang, in *Eng. Studien*, band 38, p. 235.

Neither during his life, nor in the generation which followed him, did Heywood fail to receive his proper share of fame and repute. In the course of his biography I have already quoted many references to him made by literary men of his own day. It may not be unprofitable, then, to notice other comments upon him made by writers of his time, and by those who regarded him as one of the important figures in the literature which was written before their own generation. In this an effort has been made to include all references to Heywood that are available.

Thomas Wilson, already noticed as a friend of Heywood's son and an acquaintance of the father's, wrote, in *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553):

The English Proverbes gathered by Iohn Heywood, helpe well in this behalfe (re. Allegory), the which commonly are nothing els but Allegories, and darke devised sentences.

He also says,

For furnishing similitudes the proverbes of Heiwood helpe wele for thys purpose.²⁴

Barnaby Googe, in his *Husbandrie*, uses an epigram to point a remark when he says, "Of the discommodity of Essex Cheese, our English Martiall Jhon Haywood, thus merily writeth:

I never saw Banbury Cheese thicke enough,
But I have seene Essex Cheese quicke enough."²⁵

After his death it appears from such remarks as follow that his fame rested largely upon his witty *Epigrams*. Thus, William Webbe, in *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586), says:

I might next speake of the dyuers workes of the olde Earle of Surrey, of the L. Vaus, of Norton of Bristow, Edwardes, Tusser,

²⁴ Wilson, *Rhetorique*, ed. Mair, p. 176.

²⁵ Heywood, *Sixth Hund. Epigr.* No. 24.

Churchyard, Wyl. Hunnis, Haiwood, Sand, Hyll, S. Y., M. D., and many others; but to speake of their seuerall gyfts and abundant skylly shewed forth by them in many pretty and learned workes would make my discourse much more tedious.²⁶

Gabriel Harvey takes a less enthusiastic attitude towards recent writers, in his *Aduertisement for Pap-hatchet*, in *Pierce's Supererogation* (1593):

Our late writers are as they are; and albeit they will not suffer me to ballance them with the honorable Autors of the Romanes, Grecians, and Hebrues, yet I will crave no pardon of the highest to do the simple no wrong. In Grafton, Holinshed, and Stowe; in Heywood, Tusser, and Gowge; in . . . etc.; in an hundred such vulgar writers many things are commendable, diuers things notable, some things excellent.²⁷

Sir John Davies, in his *Epigrams* (1596-1598?) pays respect to his predecessor:

Haywood that did in Epigrams excell,
In non put downe since my light Muse arose,
As buckets are put down into a well,
Or as a schoolboy pulleth down his hose. (No. 29)

Sir John Harington takes a crack at Davies and praises Heywood frequently in his *Metamorphosis of Ajax* (1596). He refers to the pleading of a gentleman of the King's chamber, which saved Heywood from the gallows, as noticed already. He quotes epigrams from Heywood to embellish his argument, and says:

This Haywood, for his proverbs and epigrams, is not yet put down by any of our country, though one (Davies) doth indeed come near him, that graces him the more in saying he puts him down.²⁸

²⁶ G. G. Smith, *Eliz. Crit. Essays*, v. I, p. 242. It is possible that this reference is to Jasper Heywood.

²⁷ G. G. Smith, *Eliz. Crit. Essays*, v. II, p. 280.

²⁸ Harington, *Metam. Ajax*, ed. 1814, pp. 41, 89, 97; also in *Ulysses upon Ajax* (in same volume) there are references to Heywood; pp. 31, 32, 33. Also *An Apology*, p. 17.

Harington uses Heywood further in a note to his translation of the *Orlando Furioso*, concerning virtuous men, and liars:

So true of his word, as he that Heywood writes of that kept all
the commandements, and namely that concerning false witness,—
With witness false thou hurtest none, for why;
Each word thou speakest, each man doth know a lye.²⁹

In the *Chrestoleros, or Seven Bookes of Epigrams* (1598) by Th. Bastard, Heywood is mentioned with respect, though with the realization that he has been superseded by better writers, of whom Bastard admits he is one:

If witt may make a poet, as I gesse,
Heywood with auncient poets may compare.
But thou, in word and deed, hast made him lesse
In his own witt, having yet learning spare.
The goat doth hunt the grasse, the wolfe the goat;
The lyon hunts the wolfe by proof we see;
Heywood sang others downe, but thy sweet note,
Davis, hath sang him downe, and I would thee.
Then be not moved, nor count it such a sinn,
To will in thee what thou hast done in him.
—*Ad Johannem Davis*

Reader, if Heywood lived now againe,
Whom time of life, hath not of praise bereaved;
If he would write, I could express his vaine;
This would he write, or else I am deceived.
—*Ad Lectorem*

Heywood goes down saith Davie, sikerly,
And down he goes, I can it not deny.
But were I happy, did not fortune frown,
Were I in heart, I would sing Davy down.³⁰

Francis Meres, in his *Palladis Tamia* (1598), names

²⁹ Harington, *Orlando Furioso*, Bk. 38, p. 324.

³⁰ Bastard, *Chrestoleros*, pp. 36, 54, 59.

Heywood one of the English epigrammatists who can be compared with the classical writers:

These and many other Epigrammatists the Latin tongue hath, Q. Catulus, Porcius Licinius, Quintus Cornificius, Martial, Cnoeus Getulicus, and wittie Sir Thomas Moore: so in English we have these, Heywood, Drante, Kendal, Bastard, Dauies.³¹

Heath also, in his *Century of Epigrams* (1610), mentions Heywood with good judgment of his worth:

Heywood the old English epigrammatist
Had wit at will, and art was all he mist:
But now adaies we of the modern frie
Have art and labour with wits penurie.³²

But the criticisms and the efforts of later epigrammatists did not greatly affect Heywood's popularity. In 1611, or thereabouts, we read in the *Scourge of Folly* by Davies of Hereford:

To old John Heywood the Epigrammatist.
Olde Heywood have with thee in his od vaine
That yet with booksellers as new doth remaine.
New poets sing riming, but thy rymes advance
Themselves in light measure: for thus they do dance,
Ile gather some proverbes thou gatheredest before,
To descant upon them as thou didst of yore. . . .³³

Another compliment was paid to his name in the undated *Mastive, or Young Whelpe of the Old Dogge*:

Heywood was held for epigrams the best
What time old Church-yard dealt in verse and prose,
But fashions since are growne out of request,
As bombast-dublets, bases, and round hose.
Or as your lady, may it now be saide,
That looks lesse louely then her chambermaid.³⁴

³¹ G. G. Smith. *Eliz. Crit. Essays*, v. II, p. 321.

³² Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, v. III, p. 373.

³³ Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, v. III, p. 376.

³⁴ Ant. & Wood, *Ath. Oxon.*, v. I, p. 328. This is possibly by Anton, c. 1616.

The interest Ben Jonson showed in Heywood was not casual. We have noticed already his conversation with Drummond concerning Heywood and Queen Mary. In another conversation he tells Drummond that Heywood was Donne's grandfather, and in satirizing Inigo Jones in the *Tale of a Tub*, Jonson says:

Spare us no cost, either in boards or hoops
To architect your tub: have you ne'er a cooper
At London, call'd Vitruvius? send for him
Or old John Heywood, call him to you to help.³⁵

We can now take leave of the man whose life and works were more than he jokingly estimated them to be, and examine the writings which have been preserved to us, to judge them for ourselves.

³⁵ Act V, Sc. ii, l.91 ff. Also Jonson *Works*, v. IX, p. 383.

CHAPTER V

HEYWOOD'S DRAMATIC WORKS

THE plays now extant from Heywood's pen make up a most valuable group of Tudor interludes, because more than any others preserved to us, they characterize the movement away from medieval drama towards that of the later Elizabethans. Before the close of the first quarter of the sixteenth century English drama was defined by the mysteries, usually formed into large cycles as at York, Wakefield and elsewhere, the moralities, such as the Macro plays, *Everyman*, and later works like Skelton's *Magnificence*, and folk plays of Robin Hood, sword dances and morris games. The plays of the traveling professional actors who visited provincial towns early in Henry VIII's reign are not preserved, and a discussion of their characteristics would be mere speculation. The Tudor interlude is surprisingly different from this earlier drama. The element of farce, incidental to the action in miracles and moralities, may be primary to the interlude. Characterization, which was generally Biblical or allegorical in the older drama, becomes specific, personal, individualized. A new dramatic form emerges from the medieval disputation. These plays are usually comic; even the didacticism which still persists is more entertaining. Excluding the Biblical plays by Bale and others, and the later mixed moralities, controversial and educational, this drama is represented to us only by some twenty pieces, all practically unaffected by the classical renaissance. The plays of Heywood, moreover, form a group of the only extant farces and dramatic disputations produced so early in England. They show him working in sympathy with a literary tradition extending back to Chaucer, yet at the same time introducing themes of contemporary French drama and discussing the life and problems of his own

day. Heywood's work marks the most distinct endeavor of a dramatic development away from the miracles and moralities.

Six plays are generally enumerated as Heywood's: *The Pardoner and the Friar*, *The Play of Love*, *The Play of the Weather*, *Witty and Witless*, *The Four P's*, and *John, Tyb, and Sir John*. To these should be added, I believe, the *Gentleness and Nobility* which will be discussed later. Two other pieces, *Calisto and Melibœa* and *Thersites*, have been attributed to him, but not with the confidence or the general acceptance of the others.¹ A chronological arrangement of these plays is hardly possible at present. Two types of drama, however, are evident in his work, the disputation and the farce, and under these divisions the individual plays can be examined.

DISPUTATIONS

The medieval *débat* or disputation, in spite of speeches in dialogue, is not fundamentally a dramatic form. It is a kind of poetic controversy put into the mouths of two types or personified abstractions; each argues his own superiority, and decision is not infrequently referred to an umpire, as in the eclogues of Theocritus. The *tençons* and *joc-partits* of Provençal express this flyting mood, and their singers probably introduced the *débat* form into England.² In France the *jeu-parti* or *parture* develops into a scholarly dispute over academic subjects or a debate on fine-spun problems of love. England fostered the *strif* or *estrif*, a debate in dialogue, non-dramatic and obviously never acted.³ The

¹ A bibliography of Heywood's dramatic works, including editions and reprints, is contained in Tucker Brooke, *Tudor Drama*, pp. 101-2, and Chambers *Med. Stage*, v. II, pp. 454-5.

² Chambers, *Med. Stage*, v. I, p. 80; Schofield, *Eng. Lit. Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, p. 68.

³ Such as *The Harrowing of Hell*, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, *The Thrush and the Nightingale*, *The Fox and the Wolf*, *Debate of the Carpenter's Tools*, *Debate between the Body and the Soul*, *Disputacio inter Mariam et Crucem*, etc. As will be seen, Heywood's longest work, *The Spider and the Fly*, is an extended debate.

dramatization of this form involves a witty and clever logic, specious and humorous rather than just, and it becomes a thing to please and amuse, rarely to edify and instruct. In order to enliven the disputation, Heywood did not hesitate to borrow from the farce and introduce ludicrous brawling and rough disorder.

WITTY AND WITLESS

The dialogue of *Witty and Witless*, sometimes called *Wit and Folly*, was not published perhaps during Heywood's lifetime, and is preserved only in a manuscript copy in the British Museum.⁴ There is no problem of authorship here, for it is signed "Amen qd John Heywod." The manuscript lacks the opening lines, but probably not much has been lost. This short piece, of about 850 lines, is argued by three persons, the third coming in only at the end to prevent an unfortunate conclusion.

Content

The argument is already under way when the manuscript takes up the dialogue. James holds it is better to be witless than witty; the fool suffers no want, and does not have to work. But John, the opponent, objects that fools are abused. Heywood takes this opportunity to say that even the king's jester, whom he evidently disliked, suffers displeasure at times:

Not even Master Somer, the king's grace's fool,
But tasteth some time some nips of new school.

When John suggests that the student has great joy and delight in his task well done, James answers in an enthusiastic passage on the pride of work and labor, which sounds remarkably like the sentiments voiced in the anonymous *Gentleness and Nobility*:

⁴ Harl. Ms. No. 367. Thos. Hacket entered the "pleye of wytyles" on Stationers Register 1560/1. Chambers, *Med. Stage*, v. II, p. 455.

As much delight carters oft have in carts neat trimmed,
As do students in books with gold neat limned:
And as much envy who may drive his cart best,
As among students who may seem learned highest,
Whereby inward delight to toll forth each part,
Seemeth me indifferent to art, or to cart!⁵

They continue to argue pro and con, employing the devices of scholastic debate to an extent which would be unbearable to a modern audience, and finally John gives way and admits he had "better be sot Somer than sage Soloman."

But at this point Jerome, a schoolman, enters and attacks the conclusion with all his learning. He says it is better to be a man than a beast, and a fool is a beast:

For think you the number
Standeth as Somer doth, all day in slumber.
Nay! Somer is a sot! fool for a king!

and also:

Except Master Somer, of sots not the best,
But the mill-horse may compare with him for rest!

And so John is converted to the side of wit and intellectuality. An Epilogue of four stanzas is to be said only if the king is present. After wishing the king joy and prosperity, Heywood concludes very pertinently:

Continuance whereof with fruitful increase,
I heartily wish for increase of reward;
As Scripture alleged late doth witness,
The witty wise worker to be prefarde
Above the idle sot, and ye to regard
Each man himself so to apply in this,
As ye all may obtain the high degree of bliss.

Here we have the solution for Heywood's rancor against Somer. Somer was a favorite, receiving more from the king

⁵ Farmer, *Dramatic Works Heywood*, p. 200.

than Heywood did at this time, which was before he was favored with land grants and additional money. Naturally, then, he felt that as a court musician, composer of dramatic entertainments, and very likely a general utility man in other festivities, he was worked harder and worth more than the professional fool. He was the witty wise worker who wished to be preferred above the idle sot.

Source

Many of the arguments of James, on the side of Witless or Folly, seem to be taken from Erasmus' *Encomium Moriae*, which Heywood must have known because of the intimate association he bore to Sir Thomas More and his family circle. This borrowing is general, however, and somewhat vague. A more definite and direct source for the disputation has been discovered and established in the French *Dyalogue du fol et du sage*, a *débat* which was probably performed at the court of Louis XII, the husband of Henry VIII's sister Mary.⁶

Heywood goes beyond his original at the conclusion, however, for it seems he is responsible for the addition of Jerome the schoolman who brings victory to the side of wit. The French piece permits the fool to win; but Heywood wished to hit at Will Somer for his own advancement, and so adds to his source. This is the least dramatic of Heywood's plays, because it appears to be most imitative of a purely literary form, the debate, which was ready at hand and required neither invention nor experiment. He had only to translate and append a peroration spoken by a new figure who would labor a point in his favor at the expense of his rival, Will Somer. The speculative problem of the fool and the wise man interested Heywood and his generation. The theme discussed by Barclay and Erasmus is used several times in Heywood's epigrams.⁷

⁶ K. Young in *Modern Philology*, v. II, p. 109 ff.; S. Lee, *French Renaissance in Eng.*, p. 374; Boas in *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, v. V, p. 93.

⁷ See page 136.

This play is probably the earliest dramatic effort preserved to us from Heywood's pen. Its simplicity, imitation, and its comparative dullness suggest an inexperienced writer. If it was written before the plays printed by John and William Rastell, in all likelihood it was not deemed worthy of printing by author or publisher. Disputations of this sort were included in court entertainments before 1530 and were still used twenty-five years later in the same way.⁸ Although there was an audience for such feeble dramatic efforts down into the reign of Elizabeth, Heywood probably neglected this form after serving his apprenticeship in it.⁹

THE PLAY OF LOVE

A more elaborate disputation has for its full title "A play of loue, A newe and mery enterlude concerning pleasure and payne in loue, made by Ihon Heywood." This piece was probably regarded more favorably than *Witty and Witless*, for it was printed by William Rastell in 1533, again in 1534, and still later by Waley, who published books between 1547 and 1558. The *débat* is double in this piece, two separate disputations being carried on by two sets of contestants. The four *personae* represent all quarters of the state of love, the Lover not Loved, the woman Loved not Loving, the Lover Loved, and Neither Lover nor Loved. The play is nearly 1600 lines in length, about twice the size of *Witty and Witless*.

Content

The discussion is begun by the Lover not Loved, who complains that he suffers more for love than any other person. He loves ardently and his lady does not return his affection. The woman Loved not Loving challenges him,

⁸ Note the dialogues of *Riches and Love*, 1527, and *Riches and Youth*, 1552, both used with *barriers*. Appendix No. 6, p. 172.

⁹ Pollard, in Gayley, *Rep. Eng. Com.*, v. I, p. 11, says it is "inconceivable that any one who had written the Pardoner and the Frere could subsequently write the Dyaloge of Wyt and Folly or the Play of Love."

believing that her lot is far more unbearable. Employing the vocabulary and formality of set debate, her opponent accepts the opportunity for scholastic discussion, and says:

Fair lady, pleaseth it you to repair near,
 And in this cause to show cause reasonable
 Whereby cause of reformation may appear—
 Of reason I must and will be reformable.

Truly a dull beginning to modern ears; but it promises a courtly disputation to all who enjoy clever argument. The adversaries soon agree that they are unable to come to any conclusion without the services of a judge who will weigh their arguments impartially, and they leave the stage together in search of such an individual. Then enters the Lover Loved, joyously singing a song,¹⁰ and proceeds in a long monologue to describe his happiness in possessing the love of his lady. When he concludes, Neither Lover nor Loved, a blunt, coarse fellow, comes in and calls him a fool and a woodcock. He declares that the happiest of all men is the one who neither loves nor is beloved. They immediately fall to and begin their debate, each maintaining he is happier, but they soon discover that they also need a judge to decide the matter for them, and the lover goes to search for one. While he is gone, Neither Lover nor Loved delivers a long speech, telling how he once played at love himself with a "sweeting" whom he describes in tumbling Skeltonic meter, giving a complete inventory of his lady's charms, from her head to her heel. The *graphie*, listing and portraying a lady's beauties in this fashion, was being written in France at this time; an extension of the more restricted *blason* which treated only of one particular feature of the poet's mistress. This sort of poetry is highly decorative, a courtly thing found most where artificial nourishment would stimulate its weak life. In this passage, Heywood has changed his meter as if

¹⁰ Possibly this lyric is the one printed in full on page 128.

to show that this part is an insertion, a unit by itself, even though this example of French sophistication is more of a burlesque than an imitation.¹¹

Neither Lover nor Loved then tells how he made love to the damsel, intending to mock her in the end. After a long season of successful love-play, he deserts her. He thinks of the great sorrow and disappointment she must feel, and returns to her house, only to find that his place has been quickly and happily filled by another man, and thus the game of *mocum moccabitur*, the mocker mocked, as he calls it, is played against him. This story, with its spice and dexterous conclusion, is of the *fabliau* cast. Heywood inserts it into a dull disputation, realizing no doubt that some of his audience may not relish the monotonous diet of scholarly debate.

When this long monologue is done, the Lover Loved returns, bringing with him the other two disputants, the woman Loved not Loving and the Lover not Loved. If we had not suspected it earlier, when Neither Lover nor Loved was speaking of his amorous escapade, we now discover that he is the *vice* of the play. He addresses impudent remarks to the lady, is rough in his speech to the others, cracks jokes and makes puns, and undertakes to be the merry wag of the party. With much comment, the arguments of each pair of debaters are presented to the others, and the discussion begins in earnest. Legal tricks are employed to introduce and nullify evidence, and each contestant stands a sharp examination from his adversary. Neither Lover nor Loved leaves the stage for a book during his opponent's pleading, after which we read the unusual and interesting stage direction:

Here the Vice cometh in running suddenly about the place among the audience with a high copper tank on his head full of squibs fired crying, water! water! fire! fire! water! water! fire! till the fire in the squibs be spent.

¹¹ For the sort of thing that this takes after, see *La Belle Paule* by Gabriel de Minut, which he calls a *Paule-graphie*; also the *blasons* of Marot, Scève, etc.

He then declares there is a house on fire nearby, in which a woman was burned. It is the home of the mistress of the happy Lover Loved, who falls in a swoon with grief and anguish. He is revived and leaves in anxious torture to seek his lady. The audience is informed that this is all a trick to show that the Lover Loved is not secure in his happiness, but is liable to the utmost agonies. The lover soon returns and the debates are concluded with the safe decision that all persons are equally pained and equally happy.

Source

No direct source has yet been discovered for this play. It is made up of several distinct elements, the *graphie* vulgarized and used for comic purpose, the *fabliau* story of the mocker mocked, the *vice* introduced from the morality, and a double disputation upon topics of courtly love. This is the earliest use of the term *vice*, designating the familiar clown of the moralities, in any printed play. There is no lack of materials for this "courtly love" of argument which Heywood displays. One of the most popular discussions of the problems of love in Heywood's time was *Les Arrêts d'Amour* by Martial d'Auvergne, a veritable case-book of the various offences and nice points of pleading in the gay art and gentle science of dalliance, the *gaya science* of the Provençal. The characteristics of the elegant lady, Loved not Loving, who was pained and bored by the adoration of her many suitors, were acquisitions of the courtly dames of France whose brilliance shone across the Channel. Anne Boleyn very probably brought this vogue of courtly love to England from the French capital. Evidence of her interest in this formal pastime is plentiful in her letters to Henry VIII before their marriage. Heywood's *débat* becomes an important early contribution to the courtly love literature in Tudor England. His haughty lady preserves the characteristics of her predecessors in the literature of woman-worship in France, which extends back to

Italian and Provençal poets.¹² In addition to the *tençons* of southern France which glory in discussions of love problems, Boccaccio in *Il Filocolo* (Lib. v.) describes many points of debate in his *Tredici questioni d'amore*. Heywood probably did not know of this work, which appears to have been first translated into English in 1567 by H. G(ifford?). There are some similarities, however, which show the materials were preserved in the literary tradition which French poets took from Italy and passed on to England. In the second question of the *Filocolo* we are asked, Is love an evil or a good? The discussion naturally would involve the arguments presented by Heywood in his play. Another question is, Which lady is more unfortunate, the one whose lover is sent into hopeless exile, or she who has never been permitted to be with her lover? The Italian drama made room for this sort of disputation on stage in the *frottola*, and Heywood's *débat* has been compared to this form.¹³

Presentation

This play was presented at Christmas-tide, as indicated in the invocation to the new-born Savior which ends the piece:

Which Lord of Lords, whose joyful and blessed birth
Is now remembered by time presenting—
This accustomed time of honest mirth— . . .

The reference to honest mirth and this time of rejoicing points to the extended festivities at court, where we should

¹² Lee, *French Renaissance in England*, pp. 32, 39, 44; also see J. B. Fletcher, *Religion of Beauty in Woman*.

¹³ A. W. Ward, *Hist. Eng. Dram. Lit.*, v. I, p. 247; A Brandl, *Quellen*, p. liii. The literature of courtly love in the 16th century culminates in Lyly's *Euphues*. The debates in this work are refined sophistications of the materials Heywood employs. Lyly, moreover makes abundant use of the proverbs and folk sayings which Heywood accumulated, in order to add to the sententiousness of his style. (See page 134.)

expect to find Heywood active as musician and attendant upon the king at this season. Information is lacking concerning dramatic events and revels at court between 1527 and 1533, but unquestionably they were not altogether discontinued. This play would have pleased Anne Boleyn, and was published by Rastell in 1533, the year she became queen. I venture to suggest, therefore, that this play was presented at court before Anne, probably at Epiphany-tide, 1533.

This disputation is more interesting than *Witty and Witless* because it is not so severely simple. There is more business on stage, the discussion is brighter, the humor enlivened by the *graphie* and the *fabliau*, and doubtless Heywood's audience was delighted by the *vice* and his pan of squibs or fireworks, designed to create a good-natured panic like the devils rushing among the spectators in the miracles and in some court masks. Elements of farce are here added to an academic form in order to make it entertaining drama.¹⁴

GENTLENESS AND NOBILITY

The disputation entitled *Of Gentylnes and Nobyltye*, printed without date by John Rastell, differs from the scholarly *débat* in the treatment of its subject. The definition of the true gentleman was an exercise not far removed from discussions of courtly love. But under Heywood's treatment we have a significant review of social relationships, a comment on the life of his own day, and a conclusion at once sensible and urgent.

Content

A Merchant and a Knight argue, each in a dignified, restrained manner well becoming the traditions of formal debate, as to who is the gentler and nobler. The Knight bases

¹⁴ An interesting adaptation of this double *débat* was written by Thos. Lupton, *All for Money*, 1578; a morality which teaches the value of scientific education. The characters are Learning-without-Money, Learning-with-Money, Money-without-Learning, and Neither-Money-nor-Learning.

his claim upon his aristocratic ancestry and great lands, inherited through five hundred years, and the famous deeds of his forefathers. The Merchant, in answering, boasts of money enough to buy all the lands and inheritance of the Knight, and declares that his ancestors fed and provided for the progenitors of the Knight. The Knight then prides himself upon his superior wit:

For reason will ever it should so be,
Wise men to have fools in captivity,

hitting precisely upon the argument of *Witty and Witless*. But the Merchant has intelligence on his side also; his father was a smith, his grandfather a mason, his great-grandfather a weaver, and wit is required in all these trades. They also constructed things, while the Knight can "but use, occupy, and waste evermore."

A Plowman now rushes in, bristling with scorn and coarse speech for the others. He claims the honors, and cleverly proves that nobility of ancestry does not ennoble succeeding generations. He maintains that the person who is most noble is he who is most independent. God is noblest of all because by his own labor he is self-sufficient. Artisans and plowmen make what the Merchant sells and the Knight consumes. When the Merchant argues that in that case beasts are more noble than men because they are more independent, the Plowman retorts (again in the manner of *Witty and Witless*) that man is more noble because of his wit and soul given him by God.

The others seem impressed by his argument and wish to detain him, but he, after the fashion of his prototype Piers Plowman, says he has more important work to do and will not waste his time. He gives vent to a virtuous speech in praise of his honest toil and its contentment, and finally promises to return and argue further after he buys some grease for his cart. The Knight and the Merchant follow him

out, in search of recreation. This ends part one of the play, and an intermission follows, possibly providing some lighter entertainment for the audience or the guests at dinner.

The second part begins with the Plowman on hand awaiting the arrival of the others. When they appear he renews his attack, berating them for their inherited wealth, and demands:

When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then a gentleman?

We notice a close parallel to this speech in Heywood's *Spider and the Fly*, when the flies protest against the landed aristocracy of the spiders. The Plowman holds that both noble and serf are human beings, liable alike to sickness and sudden death. This second part is the Plowman's completely; the others merely ask questions while he discourses upon social democracy. At one moment he arouses the ire of the Knight and they come to the point of blows. This is the nearest to rough comedy that the play ventures, although there is a certain boisterous humor in the words of the Plowman. The Knight and the Merchant finally leave, and the Plowman addresses his last words to the audience, suggesting no immediate remedy for present evil conditions,

But let them alone till God will send
A time till our Governors may intend
Of all enormities the reformation.

This recommendation was eminently safe for one in Heywood's position at court. As for the Plowman,

I will let the world wag, and home will I go
And drive the plow as I was wont to do.

After he retires, the others return for a few minutes in order to declare that they think the Plowman a surly churl, as are all others of his class. They then give way to the Philosopher who speaks an epilogue emphasizing,

The thing that maketh a gentleman to be
Is but virtue and gentle conditions,

and admits that anyone can be a gentleman, that the world should be amended and the guilty punished.

Authorship

The problem of authorship does not seem to be difficult, in spite of the anonymity of the title page. The colophon reads, "Johannes Rastell me fieri fecit. Cum priuilegio regali." This is ambiguous, as Brooke points out, for it might mean "John Rastell caused me to be printed" (as publisher), or "caused me to be composed," which might imply that he suggested the writing of it to the unnamed poet. If he had wished to show himself the author of it, he might have said simply, "Rastell me fecit."¹⁵ Bishop Bale first suggests that this play was done by Rastell, but then changes "reliquit" to "primum edidit" in his revised *Catalogus*, implying that though he did not know who the author was, he knew it was not Rastell.¹⁶

The meter, diction, and poetic characteristics are similar to the other *débats* of Heywood. The resemblance between it and *Witty and Witless* is especially strong; identical riming scheme, in couplets, with the epilogue in rime royal. Some points in debate are employed in both plays, as noticed above. As we shall see presently, Chaucer, a favorite source of inspiration for Heywood, has been used here also. The *Spider and the Fly*, which was planned and begun by Heywood in this period, takes up the same theme, and in one place already noticed, uses the same language.¹⁷ The most conclusive proof of Heywood's authorship is seen in the frontispiece of this play, a cut of a man in a furred gown somewhat like

¹⁵ C. F. T. Brooke, "Gentleness and Nobility, Authorship and Source," *Mod. Lang. Review*, v. VI, 1911, p. 458.

¹⁶ See page 21.

¹⁷ Also in the *Weather*, cf. pp. 96-7.

that of a Master of Arts, a flat cap, and a dagger in his belt. Below on either side of his feet are the initials "I. H." This alone leads us to suspect John Heywood. In his *Spider and the Fly*, moreover, the same woodcut, with the same initials, is placed at the beginning of the book and is printed again at page 23. This duplication is the most convincing evidence of Heywood's authorship.¹⁸

Source

Chaucer has given Heywood quite as many lines in this work as in the *Four P's* and the *Pardoner and Friar*. C. F. Tucker Brooke has already shown that the discussion of gentlehood and the true gentleman was suggested by the same problem in connection with the *Wife of Bath's Tale*. In addition to the general statement of the problem, it appears that Heywood has taken some 25 lines direct from Chaucer.¹⁹

This disputation, however, was not a thing of academic cast. It refers slightly to old matters of debate; its discussion relates to the affairs of Tudor England. The play does not deal with its problem merely for a display of specious argument and forensic ability, but primarily because something is wrong with the world. In this debate Heywood comes nearest to the *Spider and the Fly*, in which he deals with contemporary conditions and events. The characters themselves are more related to living people than the personified abstractions in *Witty and Witless* or *Love*. One of these, the Philosopher, who speaks the epilogue, is a common figure in

¹⁸ C. W. Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 52, assigns the dialogue of *Gentleness and Nobility* to Cornish. He attributes to Heywood the *débat* of *Love and Riches*, presented in 1527 at court and described by Hall for that year. He suggests that the dialogue of *Youth and Riches*, 1552, is an adaptation of this earlier work. Feuillerat, *Revels*, pp. 60 and 278, states there is no ground whatever for believing that Heywood wrote this play; that it was more likely done by Sir Thomas Chaloner.

¹⁹ C. F. T. Brooke, *Mod. Lang. Review*, v. VI, p. 458.

the moralities before and after Heywood's day. His purpose here obviously is to urge reformation, to drive home certain ideas proclaimed in the debate and in general to bind the whole matter together by taking a less personal view of the problem. The interlude may have been presented at court before Henry. The tone of the play is that of a young man urged to utterance by youthful speculation, and was brought forward, probably in 1529-1530 when John Rastell was still printing, at a time when Henry was tolerant towards popular discussion of social problems. More's *Utopia*, which probably gave some ideas to Heywood's Plowman concerning the choice of governors and lawmakers, Skelton's poems, Tindale's *Practice of Prelates*, and many other works dealing with public affairs were possible only at this time, and would have been sternly scrutinized if they had come out, say, after 1535.²⁰

THE PLAY OF THE WEATHER

In 1533 William Rastell printed "The Play of the Wether, A New and a very mery enterlude of all maner wethers, made by John Heywood." A second, undated edition later appeared, which was followed by a third, printed between 1564 and 1576 by Anthony Kytson. This play is a border-line case in drama, a combination of disputation and farce, more advanced in structure than *Love*, but shorter, containing only 1250 lines.

Content

Jupiter, somewhat after the manner of Herod and Pilate

²⁰ The discussion of social and economic conditions was not excluded from popular drama at this time. Suffolk, in a letter to Cromwell, May 15, 1537, tells of a May game "played last May day, which play was of a king how he should rule his realm, in which one played *Husbandry* and said many things against gentlemen, more than was in the book of the play." He reports he has ordered the justices of the shire to have regard to light persons, especially at games and plays, and would like the King's letters to the same effect. Brewer, XII, p. 557.

in mystery plays, sits on his throne and enlarges upon his glory, pomp, and power. He says that he has given all sorts of weather, which is in his control, to mankind, and now he will graciously hear complaints and petitions regarding it. Merry Report, termed the *vice* by Heywood, enters and indulges in witticisms with Jupiter, and urges that he be chosen as messenger in all this business. Jupiter is willing, and sends him abroad for petitioners, while a song is sung, with Jupiter listening from the throne. Thus, in the manner of modern musical comedies, the stage is kept busy and a lapse of time is shown. Merry Report returns; Jupiter retires from view while his agent interviews a Gentleman who comes in sounding his hunting horn. Merry Report pokes indecent fun at him, scorns his "goodly occupation" in precisely the same fashion as the Plowman in *Gentleness and Nobility*, and finally introduces him to Jupiter, from whom he begs fair weather for his hunting. He urges that every wight should have his desire, especially the nobility and grand gentlemen, because they are most necessary to the commonwealth—the same argument expressed by the Knight in *Gentleness and Nobility*. Merry Report thereupon makes caustic comment, and turns to consider a Merchant who, like his double in the preceding disputation, prays for special concessions because he and his fellows are most necessary to the state. He wishes clear weather and variable winds to bring his cargoes over the seas. Jupiter promises aid, and seems somewhat more cordial to him than to the Gentleman. A Ranger appears and complains to Merry Report that his wages are small and his work severe. Rangers' best fortune is a "windfall" by which they get whatever fruit or wood falls from the trees, and he therefore craves blustery storms and bad weather. Merry Report comments upon this selfishness and will not let him speak to Jupiter, and the Ranger departs in a huff. A Water-Miller comes in, saying that water-millers are never heard by any god, that they cry continually for rain and scarcely ever

get it. Merry Report rebukes him for his ill-mannered audacity, whereupon they argue about behavior and manners, but are interrupted by a Wind-Miller who comes a-begging for more wind. The two millers debate and discuss their professional merits, and for nearly 200 lines a disputation impedes the action of the play. Merry Report finally silences them and sends them off with vague promises.

An elegant Gentlewoman now enters, and Merry Report has much to say about her, more amusing than shocking to Heywood's audience. After much of this indecent irrelevancy, she declares that she is beautiful and wishes to preserve her beauty against summer sun and winter frost. She spends her days in visiting friends and in walking abroad, and her evenings in dancing and singing. Her examiner shows his intense dislike for this conduct and for all such members of the "idle rich" class, until he hears that she can sing. Thereupon they each sing a ditty, and Merry Report is completely won over to her. A Laundress, coarse, vulgar, and sharp of tongue, now interrupts. She has nothing but scorn for the Gentlewoman, like the Plowman for the Knight in *Gentleness and Nobility*. She does not envy her beauty, but rails against her idleness in vigorous terms. She has to labor for this creature of pleasure, and demands sunny weather that her clothes may bleach well. After the Gentlewoman retires before her wrath, she exchanges energetic abuse with Merry Report. The last petitioner is a Boy, "the least that can play" as the directions read, who represents a hundred boys who are fond of trapping birds and making snow-balls. He requests more snow and even offers to buy a bushel or two from the god. Merry Report again promises aid, and, turning to Jupiter, makes a complete summary of the requests and complaints—a convenient thing for a drowsy audience. He is praised for his service by Jupiter and instructed to bring in all the suitors for the final award. To them he announces that he will continue to dispense a wide

variety of weathers, whereupon each voices his approval. The lesson suggested to them all is that they are individually parts of a whole, and that each depends upon the other.

Source

No direct source has yet been discovered for this play. It seems to have been based upon some of the matters hinted at in *Gentleness and Nobility* but not discussed in that work because of its natural limitations. The ideas expressed by the Gentleman, the Merchant, and the Laundress seem to be extensions of the arguments in the more restricted disputation. The doctrine of interdependence which is preached in this play is suggested by the Philosopher in the epilogue to *Gentleness and Nobility*, and is taught at the conclusion of the *Spider and the Fly*. It was even proclaimed in the motto worn in the new hat Queen Mary gave him.²¹

Presentation

From a reference to the king supping at board in the Boy's speech, it is evident that this play was presented before Henry at a banquet:

A hundred boys that stood together
Where they heard one say in a cry
That my godfather, God Almighty,
Was come from heaven, by his own accord,
This night to sup here with my lord.²²

As in the case of his other plays, no chronological clue is given, unless we enlarge upon a remark made by the Wind-Miller: "How rain hath priced corn within this vii year" (l. 636). This might refer to the great rains of 1527 and the

²¹ J. Q. Adams, Jr., in "A source for Heywood's Play of the Wether," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, v. XXII, p. 262, points out that a similar petitioning of Jupiter for conflicting and opposite boons is treated in the same light vein by Lucian in the *Icaro-Menippus*.

²² Lines 1024-28. Boas, *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, v. V, p. 93 ff.

dearth in 1528, mentioned by Holinshed.²³ But even this reference, made in connection with "vii year" to signify an indefinite period of time, does not help us materially.

The *Weather* has metrical characteristics similar to the other plays in this group. The earlier portions of *Love* are in rime royal, as is the conclusion, but the debating is in couplets. So in the *Weather*, Jupiter's opening and closing speeches are in rime royal and the rest of the play is written in couplets, save for occasional quatrains. This play, which seems more mature and developed than the simpler disputations already described, extends and applies more widely the dramatic lessons learned in his earlier writing. It is an enlargement of the *débat*, a multiform discussion of a general theme involving debates between the Gentleman and the Merchant, the two Millers, the Gentlewoman and the Laundress. To this is added the *vice* Merry Report, who is more of a farcical character than his brother in *Love*. Jupiter does not suggest any classical influence; he was considered a more proper figure to use in this way than Heywood's Christian God.

The element of farce is naturally much stronger than in his earlier efforts; the direction was ever towards a self-sustained comedy. The *débat* could not go very far in drama unless it took on plot, action, and a more human appeal, and Heywood appears to have perceived this. He avoids, moreover, downright didacticism in the *Weather* with commendable tact, but one who reads his works will not fail to see in them something more than the writings of an entertainer and humorist. In this play, in *Gentleness and Nobility*, in the *Spider and the Fly*, and even in his *Dialogue of Proverbs concerning Marriage*, he is discussing the problems in the world about him and searching for some solution of social questions.

The disputation which Heywood dramatized did not become an important form in the plays of his contemporaries

²³ Suggested by Pollard in Gayley, *Rep. Eng. Comedies*, v. I, p. 40.

or of the early Elizabethans. While there are frequent debates between opposing characters in the moralities of the time, these are arrived at naturally in the action of the plays and are obviously not disputations introduced into the plot in order to help it along. In the anonymous *Interlude of Youth*, for instance, Charity and Youth debate the right and wrong of worldliness; in the *Nature of the Four Elements*, Nature and Humanity have disputes over the same matter, but in neither of these cases do we have the *débat* as written by Heywood. No extant plays contemporary with Heywood show this form; in the non-extant pieces whose names we have preserved, three appear to be disputations, *Riches and Love* (1527), *Riches and Youth* (1552), and the long, over-peopled *Love and Life* by William Baldwin (1556).²⁴ It is profitless to speculate on the nature of these plays which do not exist. The *débat* was non-dramatic before Heywood put it on the boards. The *genre* lingered throughout the greater part of the century in England and in Germany, especially in the ballad form. Thynne's *Disputation between Pride and Lowliness*, and a number of lost ballads recorded in the Stationers Register, such as the *Dialogue between Age and Youth, God and Man, Death and Youth*, show the persistency of this type. The book of *Robin Conscience*, a disputation written in dramatic form though probably never acted, is a triple discussion between Robin and his father Covetousness, his mother Newguise, and his sister Proud Beauty.²⁵

FARCES

Judging from the early Tudor plays that have come down to us, Heywood's farces are as unique in dramatic history as his *débats*. After the decline of the Roman theater, farce lived down to the seventh century, vanished, and appeared

²⁴ Chambers, *Med. Stage*, v. II, pp. 194, 201.

²⁵ W. C. Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry*, v. III, p. 221; C. Herford, *Lit. Relations Germany and England*, p. 32.

again in the fifteenth. It very probably existed during the middle ages, though not preserved in writing. Chambers has shown that popular plays were acted in the day of the miracles.²⁸ When in Tudor drama the farce appears under the too general name of interlude, it is different from the comic passages of the miracle and morality plays. Even the Mak episode in the Towneley *Secunda Pastorum*, though a complete farce in itself, is dependent upon and subsidiary to the central Christmas story. The comedy of the Tudor interlude is primary, the object of the play, not incidental humor added to enliven a dull story.

THE FOUR P'S

One of the most humorous of Heywood's farces, though not the most dramatic, is "The playe called the Foure PP, a newe and very mery enterlude of A palmer, A pardoner, A potycary, A pedler, made by John Heewood." This was printed by Wyllyam Myddylton, undated; though no work that is known came from Middleton's press before 1543 or subsequent to 1547. There is an undated copy in the Bodleian

²⁸ "In the well-known Wyclifite sermon against miracle plays, an imaginary opponent of the preacher's argument is made to say that after all it is 'lesse yvels that thei have thyre recreation by pleyinge of myraclis than bi pleyinge of other japis'; and again that 'to pley in rebaudye' is worse than 'to pley in myridis'." The tone of the passage implies that there were other plays than the religious ones. This is a contribution of Chambers, never before suggested by this material. *Med. Stage*, v. I, p. 84.

Regarding the renascence of farce in the fifteenth century, he also says, "It is possible that, as is here suggested, that renascence was but the coming to light again of an earth-bourne of dramatic tradition that had worked its way beneath the ground ever since the theatres of the Empire fell." v. I, p. 85.

Some few old Mss. show that fifteenth century farce was not an unprecedented thing; as *Le Garçon et l'Aveugle* (Flanders, 1266-1290?), and the fourteenth century dramatic version of the *Dame Sirith* story (*De Clerico et Puella*). For a discussion of classical comedy and medieval farce, see Creizenach, *Geschichte des N. Dramas*, v. I, p. 388.

printed by Copland, and an edition dated 1569, printed by John Allde, which does not bear Heywood's name.

Content

The story of the play is very simple, the interest centering in the narratives told by the actors. A Pardoner, laden with relics, meets a Palmer, a Peddler, and an Apothecary. Each good-naturedly attacks the frauds of the others' professions while he praises his own work, its virtue and honesty. When all have spoken, they at last drop the mask of professional formality which they assume before the public and agree that if they were united under a good leader this combination of rare knaves would be invincible. In order to determine who shall be their leader, they plan to tell lies; the one who tells the most extravagant falsehood will be hailed as chief of the band. The Peddler acts as judge, and the 'Potecary recounts a tale of vulgarity matched only in jest-book literature. It is almost too crude for the *fabliau* type in which Heywood delighted. The Pardoner tells a better story of a trip to hell for a former mistress who had died. The devils welcome him warmly, for he is an old friend of theirs. They give him back his lady with alacrity, and urge him to take as many more women as he will. Women are not popular in hell, and the Pardoner is requested to give his pardons only to women so that they will not come there to annoy the devils.

For all we devils within this den
Have more to do with two women
Than with all the charge we have beside.

The Palmer says all this is strange to him, for he has never known a sharp-tongued woman. Instantly all say that this is the greatest lie of all, and he is voted the winner of the contest. Then follows a conclusion in which the audience is urged to submit to the Church universal and not to make sport of it. This sounds sarcastic to us, but Heywood per-

ceived the difference between attacking the institution itself and the faults of the individuals who supported it.

Authorship

Only one student of this drama, I believe, has questioned the accepted authorship of the play. Realizing that there must have been a common author for this play and for the *Pardoner and Friar* and *John, Tib, and Sir John*, which are anonymous, Wallace attributes all three to the pen of Cornish, and suggests that the publisher printed Heywood's name in the *Four P's* by mistake.²⁷ This mistake, however, is very improbable. Heywood was in London, at court, when Middleton was printing, a man of affairs and of some literary standing, for this is the period of his early *Proverbs* and *Epigrams*. If the mistake were made, it would not have been perpetuated by Bale, who in both his *Index* and *Catalogus* assigns the play to him. Pitseus, who knew Heywood and his sons, and evidently wrote of the father from first-hand knowledge, also says this play is his. No better evidence, therefore, could be desired than the statements of a contemporary publisher and the only literary biographers of the time who attempted scholarly exactitude in their work.

Source

A French *sottie*, the *Farce nouvelle d'un Pardonneur, d'un Triacleur, et d'une Tavernière*, appears to be the most direct source for this piece. This same farce was used in the *Pardoner and Friar*. It tells of a Pardoner who is laden with the same relics, and who describes the virtue of his wares in the village square. A Triacleur, or peddling apothecary, also proclaims his goods. The two fall to abusing each other and their special frauds, but are ultimately reconciled upon the suggestion of a visit to a tavern where they will find the

²⁷ C. Wallace, *Evolution*, pp. 50-3, 81-3.

mistress very hospitable. The Pardoner is almost a double of Heywood's man, and the Triacleur is the 'Potecary in the *Four P's*.²⁸ The humor of Heywood's farces has a definite Chaucerian flavor, and the *Canterbury Tales* have been discovered as the inspiration for Heywood's best characters, the Pardoners in this piece and in the *Pardoner and Friar*. These Pardoners are almost twin brothers, and in depicting them Heywood has taken 65 lines from the *Pardoner's Prologue*, which are scarcely changed by his hand. The *Prologue* to the *Tales* is also used by him to describe his Pardoner's relics.²⁹

Presentation

As in the case of the other plays of Heywood, the date of publication is not an important clue to the date of writing and of presentation. We know of three editions of this play, all probably later than 1543. It is not impossible, however, that Rastell printed a first edition in 1533, when he was bringing out Heywood's other plays. The piece is clearly related to the other farces of this group, and Pollard believes that it is even earlier than the *Pardoner and Friar* because of its undramatic quality, its easy narrative and tame conclusion.³⁰ It is obviously less dramatic than the *John, Tib, and Sir John*. The *Four P's* is mentioned with other early plays in the *Play of Sir Thomas More* as if at the end of the

²⁸ Karl Young presents a full statement of these similarities and evidences of direct borrowing in "Influence of French Farce on the Plays of John Heywood," in *Modern Philology*, v. II, pp. 97-124, 1904. See also Sidney Lee, *French Renaissance in England*, p. 373.

²⁹ Swoboda, *Heywood als Dramatiker*, p. 63 ff. has already presented and discussed these direct borrowings. Swoboda also suggests that Skelton, a Chaucerian in many of his moods, was imitated by Heywood in many of his devices, his style and meter (p. 67), but this matter is full of speculation. In the Word List to Farmer's *Dram. Works Heywood*, are cited many similarities of expression in Chaucer and Heywood which indicate direct borrowing.

³⁰ In Gayley, *Rep. Eng. Comedies*, v. I, pp. 12-3.

century it were known to have been popular before Sir Thomas More's death. This would place the play with the others printed in 1533. The reference to the *Regent*, one of Henry's largest ships of war, which was burned in an engagement with the French in 1513, is used by Wallace to prove that the play was written by Cornish at an earlier date. This ship is mentioned, it seems, merely to help in illustrating a point of size, and the memory of the vessel would serve quite as well as the actuality. Not much more can be made out of this casual reference than the allusion to Pope Leo in the *Pardoner and Friar* which we shall examine presently.

The conclusion of this interlude is decidedly Catholic in tone, even though the churchmen in it are knaves. A play of this sort, demanding no stage properties or theatrical equipment, would have been admirably suited to a court dinner where entertainment was demanded. It would have delighted the king and his followers who were, just before 1533/4, neither strongly Catholic nor completely Protestant. The satire of the churchmen would be relished; the pious conclusion tolerated. To readers of Chaucer, the satire in Heywood's farces is not unusual, and in this play, as in the *Pardoner and Friar*, the edge is dulled when we recall that Chaucer had said the same words a century and a half before him. Other Catholics went much farther than Heywood in satirizing the faults of their co-religionists.

THE PARDONER AND THE FRIAR

A play very close to the *Four P's* is "A mery Pley betwene the pardoner and the frere, the curate and neybour Pratte," printed by William Rastell, April 5, 1533. This anonymous piece, about 1000 lines in length, is of the simplest structure with a negligible plot. The dramatic quality is ordinary dialogue and horse-play, and because of this crudity has been suggested as very early work.

Content

The scene of the action is within a church; the place where the actors speak is the chancel, the audience is supposedly seated in the nave. The Friar enters and salutes the congregation, "Deus hic, the Holy Trinity preserve all that now here be!" He comes, he says, not for money, but for the edification of souls. Friars have professed willful poverty; they wish no money, nor care anything for delicate food; but for this they must not be despised. He will make the people a simple discourse but will pray briefly before beginning. While he kneels, a Pardoner "with all his relics" enters. He addresses the audience and hopes that all will receive his pardons "granted by the Pope in his bulls under lead." He displays his relics for sale: a holy Jew's hip which will cure many ills, including jealousy of one's wife, even if she "be taken with friars two or three," a holy mitten, an arm of St. Sunday, the great toe of the Holy Trinity, a veil belonging to the Virgin which she wore with her French hood, the jaw-bone of All Hallows, the brain-pan of St. Michael. He shows the pope's bull, "that Pope Leo the tenth hath granted with his hand." The Friar has already begun to preach his sermon. Both speak at the same time, as shown in the text by alternating lines. The Pardoner continues to cite grants by Pope Julius "the sixth," Boniface ninth, and Innocent. Each speaker annoys the other, and in confusion they stop their addresses and scold about the interruption. This heightens into abuse, each one declaring the knavery and falsehood of the other to the people before them. This sort of flyting is maintained for some 350 lines, and takes on the quality of a debate about the merits and villanies of pardoners and friars, and the power of pardons and relics over alms and sermons. They finally lose patience utterly and fall to blows. The Curate enters and commands them to stop this wrangling and brawling. Each then tries to persuade the Curate to oust his enemy, but he decides to expel both of them and calls in

Neighbor Pratt to assist him. The Curate tells him that it is a godly task to beat friars and pardoners out of churches, and they set to work. The invaders fight long and well, however, and when all are thoroughly wearied neither side has the victory. The Pardoner and Friar then leave the church, cursed and cursing.

Authorship

This anonymous play has generally been assigned to Heywood for obvious reasons, although the attribution has not remained uncontested. Wallace points out that at Christmas-tide, 1518, no revels were held at court because of the plague, and believes that during this lull Cornish, master of the Chapel Royal, wrote the *Pardoner and Friar*. Cornish, he assumes from the *Troylous and Pandor*, knew his Chaucer well, and this Chaucerian satire could come best from his hand. He objects to Heywood's authorship because William Rastell, his own brother-in-law, did not print his name in the 1533 edition; an inconceivable omission, he believes. Wallace suggests, therefore, that Heywood turned this manuscript over to Rastell to print along with some of his own work which appeared that year. He also finds it difficult to believe that a good Catholic like Heywood would have written such a satire upon churchmen, Church practices, and the popes.³¹ We have seen, however, that in 1533 Rastell published Heywood's *Love and Weather*, both bearing his name. These plays are far more 'literary' than either the *Pardoner and Friar* or *John, Tib, and Sir John*, which are not works for a Catholic poet to boast of as being his best writings. Authorship did not mean so much to the individual in the sixteenth century as it does today, and the omission of Heywood's name in this troublesome time might have seemed advisable both to himself and his relative. In the

³¹ C. Wallace, *Evolution*, pp. 50-3, 81-3.

years 1543-47, when the *Four P's* was printed, Heywood was ostensibly a good Protestant, and permitted his name to be published with his satire. But a better explanation of anonymity has been offered by Pollard. The *Love and Weather*, printed in the same year, each possess a full-title page on which are a list of the *dramatis personae* and the name of the author. But neither the *Pardoner and Friar* nor *John, Tib, and Sir John* has a full-title page and a list of *dramatis personae*. If one were printed, the author's name would be, according to Rastell's custom then, on the full-title, and not in the head-title which is all that we have on the copies of these two plays.³² Other considerations, moreover, suggest that Heywood was the author of the *Pardoner and Friar*. This farce closely resembles certain features of the *Four P's*. The Pardoners in both plays are very much akin, and both are derived from Chaucer's churchman. The same device, of abrupt blessing, introduction, and a statement of business, presents the first character on stage in both works. The Pardoner in the French farce already discussed gives common characteristics to these two English knaves. Two of the ridiculous relics, the great toe of the Trinity and the jaw-bone of All Hallows, appear in both interludes. Boas further shows that there is a significant parallelism in the other unusual relics employed, such as the buttock-bone of Pentecost, the arm of sweet St. Sunday, the eye-tooth of the Great Turk which prevents blindness, and the brain pan of St. Michael, a preservative against headache—all of which are used in one or the other of these plays.

The farce of *John, Tib, and Sir John* is linked to these farces in the same group. Similarities between all three have already been noticed. Boas points out, for instance, that Heywood is fond of alluding to unfamiliar saints and shrines. The opening lines of the Palmer in the *Four P's* abound in

³² Pollard, Gayley, *Rep. Eng. Comedies*, v. I, p. 6; Boas, *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, v. V., p. 92 ff.

such references; in *John, Tib, and Sir John* the husband appeals to "swete Saynt Dyryk" and the priest refers to the shrine of "Saynt Modwin," perhaps at Burton-on-Trent. John mentions "our Lady at Crome," as does the Palmer in the *Four P's*. The unusual word "nyfuls" (nifful, trifle) is found both in the *Weather* and in *John, Tib, and Sir John*. This word is also used by Chaucer (*Cant. Tales*, 1.7342). The phrase "vii yeare", signifying an indefinite period of time, occurs in *Weather, Pardoner and Friar*, and in *John, Tib and Sir John*.³³

The objection that Heywood would not have written against his own Church in the fashion of any of these three plays is not sound. Some of the things that Catholics said about their Church make Heywood appear very restrained and circumspect. These plays were derived from Chaucer, a Catholic, and from France, a nation preëminently Catholic to the Elizabethans. Barclay, a Benedictine and later a strict Franciscan, took pains to elaborate the satire against clerics in his *Ship of Fools* from the materials used by Sebastian Brant. Skelton, the *enfant terrible* of Wolsey, who attacked Catholic churchmen with Protestant rigor, did so as a priest of the Church. In his *Colyn Clout* he opens fire upon worldly bishops, roving monks, nuns, and especially glosing friars who cheat the people, chiefly silly women, with stronger relish than Heywood in his most energetic satire. From the day of *Piers Plowman* Catholics were warned of pardoners and friars, "preaching the people for profit of their bellies," and deceiving them with papal bulls and fair speech.³⁴ This sort of thing, then, was not new to the ears of Heywood's audiences. They had been long disgusted with pardoners and friars and vicious parish priests, long before Heywood used

³³ Boas, *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, v. V, p. 97.

³⁴ A-text, *Piers Plowman*. In *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, v. II, Chap. 8, "The English Chaucerians", is described the *Pardoner and the Tapster*, which contains a pardoner who appears closely related to Heywood's brothers.

them for merriment. His purpose was to entertain, to make fun, not to denounce. Even in his *Spider and Fly*, written for the Catholic Queen Mary, he returns to his old vein and thrusts at friars:

There never was a Friar limitour that ducked
So low, where begging won him twenty cheeses,
As is the fly now to the spider rucked. (Cap. 9.)

The objections to Heywood's authorship of the *Pardoner and the Friar* and *John, Tib, and Sir John* do not seem to be substantial. If it is at all doubtful that he wrote them, it is more than questionable that Cornish wrote them. As Boas has suggested, these farces may be assigned to Heywood with some certainty because, so far as we know and evidence shows, it is not likely that two dramatists were at work at the same time who so closely resemble each other in style, technique, and material, and who would print their plays through the same press.

The sources of this play, Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and the French *Farce nouvelle d'un Pardonneur, d'un Triacleur, et d'une Tavernière*, have already been discussed under this head in connection with the *Four P's*.

Presentation

Although this play was printed in 1533, it has been generally regarded as antedating December, 1521, because of the reference to Pope Leo X. This is not so valuable a clue to the date of composition and presentation as it might seem. There is in the same passage a reference to Julius VI. There never was a Pope Julius VI, the highest of that name being the third, and this may be taken as part of Heywood's satire, perhaps an intentional jumbling of the matter.³⁵ The king is also mentioned, cited by the Pardoner to prevent disturbance. But the reference to Leo X would be quite as effective

³⁵ Farmer, *Dramatic Works Heywood*, p. 244.

after he was dead as when he was living. Obviously it would be convenient for the Catholic writer to refer to such an unpleasant institution as the sale of indulgences in the churches after the man who had authorized it had died, and have him responsible for the Pardoner's ribaldries.³⁶

The *Four P's* has in the past been generally regarded as later work than the *Pardoner and Friar*, which was placed early in Heywood's career owing to the reference to Leo X. The *Pardoner and Friar* is a much better play, however. It is more dramatic, the dialogue is better, the conclusion is less tame and casual. In spite of the variance in dates of publication, these two farces are close together. In the *Four P's* the characters debate over their professional merits, then tell witty stories; in the *Pardoner and Friar* there is the same debate over professional merits, better done this time, two burlesque sermons, and a brawl. It seems as if Heywood had applied the *débat* technique to farcical ends. The *Pardoner and Friar* is a *jeu-parti* of the French upon the English stage. The burlesqued sermons have their counterpart in the *sermon joyeux* of the Feast of Fools, and are of the type preached at medieval *sotties* which persisted in France and England after Heywood's day.³⁷ This play reminds us of Chaucer, but Chaucer resembles the writers of French *fabliaux* and farces. Heywood borrowed from the French, and his meter and sentiment are loyal to the *sottie*. His octosyllabic couplets, so largely used, are the customary meter of similar French plays, the thrust and "chop-logic" of his plays are of French stock, from the *débat* and the *sottie*.³⁸

As in the decay of classical comedy, so in the degeneracy of an intellectual form of entertainment like the *débat*, the

³⁶ Pollard, in Gayley, *Rep. Eng. Comedies*, v. I, p. 11.

³⁷ There is a *sermon joyeux* on Folie in Lyndsay's *Satire of the Three Estates*. Cf. Chambers, *Med. Stage*, v. II, p. 157; *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, v. III, p. 124.

³⁸ Lee, *French Renaissance in England*, p. 374.

rough-and-tumble fighting and brawling which conclude this play, are appeals to popular interest. Those who were not amused by the satire, or the disputation (some 400 lines long), were to be gratified by the riot at the close. The purpose of the play is entertainment, not edification.³⁹

JOHN, TIB, AND SIR JOHN

The best of these farces is "A mery play betwene Johan Johan the husband, Tyb his Wfe, and syr Jhon the preest," which was printed anonymously by William Rastell on February 12, 1533/4. This short play, not quite 700 lines in length, has only the three characters named in its title, but these are sufficient for a lively domestic farce of the *fabliau* type.

Content

John John, the husband, complains to the audience that his wife is out gadding with an old crony. When she comes home he swears he will beat her to the ground and drag her about by the hair, and begs the audience not to prevent him.

³⁹ An interesting account of this play, from the *Historia Histrionica* (1699) is quoted from Dodsley, v. I, elxiv.:

Lovewit. These things however are far from that which we understand by the name of a play.

Trueman. It may be so; but these were the plays of those times. Afterwards in the reign of king Henry VIII. both the subject and form of these plays began to alter, and have since varied more and more. I have by me, a thing called *A merry play between the Pardoner and the Frere, the Curate and Neybour Pratte*. Printed the 5th of April 1533, which was 24 Henry VIII. (a few years before the dissolution of monasteries). The design of this play was to ridicule Friars and Pardoners. Of which I'll give you a taste. To begin it, the Frier enters with these words:

Deus hic; etc.

(then follows by quotation and abridgment, a synopsis of the play.)

. . . And so the farce ends with a drawn battle. Such as this were the plays of that age, acted in gentlemen's halls at Christmas, or such like festival times, by the servants of the family, or strollers, who went about and made it a trade, etc. etc.

All honest men should beat their wives. For nearly a hundred lines he rants on, and suddenly wonders if she can be with Sir John, the parish priest. Many wives, he knows, go to his chamber, and again he promises her a severe beating. Tib enters suddenly and demands to know whom he will beat. He humbly denies he will beat anyone, only pound a salted fish before he cooks it. Tib then says she knows she will be ill during the night, and John tells the audience in that case it will be necessary for him to fetch the priest to her bedside to comfort her. Tib asks him where he thinks she has been, and he sneeringly suggests she has been praying at St. Paul's. She says she and her gossip Margery made a pie with Sir John. He is suspicious, but she asserts that the priest is a holy man. John is cowed, but makes *asides* to the audience expressing his doubts. Tib produces the pie, and John, delighted, proposes heating it and devouring it immediately. But she demands that Sir John be invited to dine with them. He is compelled to set the table and perform other chores, and then departs for the priest.

This scene is evidently the interior of John's house, with the hearth in view. He crosses the stage and comes to the priest's door. Sir John guilefully invites him to stay and sup, saying Tib is angry with him because he constantly rebukes her in confession for the slight sin that is in her. She is very virtuous, however, he confides, because he has tempted her to test her honesty, which is always victorious. John appears to be impressed, but tells the audience he is not at all fooled. When the priest hears that his pie is to be the supper, he willingly assents to accompany John, and promises to protect him from Tib's anger for being so long on the errand. As soon as they enter, however, Tib scolds John, and the priest does nothing to save him. He is put to work, while Sir John tells Tib how he put her husband off the scent. John is sent for water in a leaky pail which keeps him well occupied until Tib orders him to stop the holes with wax. In order to do this, he

must chafe wax by the fire. His fingers crack, the smoke gets in his eyes, and he is thoroughly miserable while the other two sit at table and eat supper. Tib requests some merry tales from the priest by way of recreation, and he responds by telling of three "miracles" he performs in his relations with women. John, by the fire, finally becomes exasperated, and turns. He has had no supper and now the meal is over. Hard words are passed, and all fall to fighting. After beating John soundly, the wife and her lover run out of the house together. John boasts to the audience of the whipping he has given them, but suddenly suspects sad things of his wife and the priest, and runs off so "see if they do me any villainy."⁴⁰

Authorship

This anonymous play has generally been accepted as Heywood's for the reasons given under the same head in the discussion of the *Pardoner and Friar*. Wallace assigns it to Cornish and would date it some two decades earlier than 1534, holding that the French source was but an imitation of the English farce. This is the first time, I believe, that Heywood has been denied his long-enjoyed glory. Nothing definite in the evidence or argument, however, leads us to doubt his authorship.⁴¹

Source

From the story of this play, it is obviously just the thing we should look for in the case of a *fabliau* dramatized. No *fabliau* has yet been found to be the original model for this farce, but a French play is the direct source for Heywood's drama. In the *Farce nouvelle trèsbonne et fort ioyeuse de Pernet qui va au vin*, the wife sends her husband for wine, to get him out of the way so that she can entertain her lover. The

⁴⁰ Sir John is of the same cast as Sir John in *Misogonus*, and in fact, with his numerous brothers in nearly all *fabliaux*. See Bond, *Early Plays from the Italian*, p. cxii.

⁴¹ C. Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 51.

episode of melting the wax and the business of the meat pie are in this farce. It was "nouvellement imprimé" in 1548, which is the only edition now known. The date of the first edition, or of composition, of course is unknown.⁴² In both plays there are many similar false starts and returnings, but in the case of Pernet he comes back to watch the guilty pair, while John starts to go and returns before Sir John enters.⁴³

It is evident even in outline that this play is more advanced dramatically than the plotless *Pardoner and Friar*, and was very probably a later work. It represents an important advance in comedy. It is a domestic farce, divorced completely from the church drama of the middle ages, and even from the *sottie*, which is related by burlesque to the religious drama. The farce element in the mystery plays considerably antedates this, but here we have humorous drama sufficient unto itself, not merely a pleasant comic relief. Clever stories, racy and indecent, found in the *fabliau* and jest-book literature, and not Biblical episodes or scholarly debates, are new materials for the plays which gradually evolve into the later drama that portrays individualities, people of human characteristics and moods.

ASCRPTIONS

The play of *Thersites* has been suggested as Heywood's. This is based on a Latin play by Ravisius Textor, rector of the University of Paris, who died in 1524. The English version considerably expands the original, and includes a variety

⁴² Pollard, in Gayley, *Rep. Eng. Comedies*, v. I, p. 16, says: "Thus despite the fact that the handling of the incidents in the English plays is far more skillful than in the French, it would seem too daring to suggest that the French farces can be borrowed from the English, and in any case we may imagine that the English dramatist did not make his new departure unaided, but was consciously working on the lines which had long been popular in France." Also see *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, v. V, p. 98.

⁴³ Farmer, *Dramatic Works Heywood*, p. 264. Also cf. Young, *Modern Philology*, v. II, pp. 97-124; Lee, *French Renaissance in England*, p. 373.

of meters appropriate to the farcical incidents, adding details which would appeal to an English audience. Some of the relics owned by Heywood's Pardoners are used by Thersites's mother, and the verve and racy style of the farces are duplicated in this play.⁴⁴ Pollard has shown that the English dramatist was an Oxford man, from certain allusions to the university. It was probably a New Year's play, though in the epilogue there is a reference to Jane Seymour and her child, Prince Edward, which at least dates this portion between October 12 and 24, 1537. The trip to hell, referred to in the *Four P's*, is again used in this play. The English version was probably made after the publication of Textor's *Dialogi* in 1530. Heywood is the only dramatist we know of at this time writing plays at court; we recall the payment for a play before Princess Mary in March, 1538. The drama is a great improvement upon the others we have examined, but as the dates associated with it are later than the others, it would represent a natural improvement in Heywood's craftsmanship. If this play is not by him, it points in many ways to Heywood's influence upon the plays of his contemporaries.⁴⁵

The play of *Calisto and Melibæa* has been assigned to Heywood by the late J. S. Farmer, who died before the writing of his promised Essay on Heywood.⁴⁶ In this essay, he intended to discuss this ascription, and merely outlines his case, too briefly, in his edition of *Anonymous Plays*.⁴⁷ This play, printed by John Rastell about 1530, is a partial English version of the Spanish *Celestina*, ending as a moral comedy, instead of the sordid tragedy in the original. The style,

⁴⁴ Boas, *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, v. V, p. 108.

⁴⁵ Pollard, Gayley, *Rep. Eng. Comedies*, v. I, pp. 13-5; and in *English Miracles Plays*, pp. 213-4.

⁴⁶ Upon communicating with the Secretary of the Early English Drama Society, I find that Farmer did not leave manuscripts of this material which could be used in presenting his views and researches concerning Heywood.

⁴⁷ First series, *Six Anonymous Plays*, E. E. D. S., London, 1905, p. 237.

tricks of diction, phraseology, repetitions, "humour of filth," are all very similar to Heywood's work in his accepted plays. It supplies the desired link between the *sottie* of the *Pardoner and Friar* and the farce of *John, Tib, and Sir John*. Heywood's early printer, moreover, published this work also. Farmer suggests that if it is not Heywood's, it was written by the unknown dramatist who was doubtfully postulated as writing at the same time, using similar materials, and publishing his plays through the same printer.

The plays of Heywood which we have described carry on a tradition in drama which traces back to Chaucer. By the end of the fourteenth century secular themes had been introduced and treated in the manner of the religious plays. There was a French *Estoire de Griselidis* performed in 1395.⁴⁸ Cornish presented his *Troylous and Pandor* at court in 1516.⁴⁹ Ralph Radcliff, after Heywood, wrote a *Griselda* and a *Meli-boeus* for his boys at Hitchin. Grimald's *Troilus* and Edwards' *Palamon and Arcite* are also recalled. Chaucer, whom Chambers terms the full flower of the *trouvère* in England, is also the chief of the English *fabliau* writers. In his farces Heywood goes back to the *fabliau* for material, hence the "Chaucerian flavor" which students detect in his works is derived from Chaucer by direct imitation, as we have seen, and by using the same continental tales. The *fabliau* is most easily studied in French literature where a great many have been preserved, but it probably existed in England, though not written down by clerics, who had no professional interest in the amusements of the tavern and the hall.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Chambers, *Med. Stage*, v. II, p. 150. Notices of 15th century Dutch plays about Floris and Blanchefleur and Griselda are also referred to here.

⁴⁹ C. Wallace, *Evolution*, pp. 24, 48, 108.

⁵⁰ Schofield, in *Engl. Lit. Conquest to Chaucer*, p. 326, points out that Heywood, familiar with the *Hundred Merry Tales* and other jest-books, has merely carried out the tendency which we have noticed in French writers who adapted the jovial narrative to drama. Also R. W. Bond, *Early Plays from Italian*, p. xvi.

French farce does not appear to have been known in England before Heywood. The relations between Heywood's plays and French farce seem closer perhaps because there is no similar material preserved in England with which these interludes can be compared. French farce is given to us almost entirely in one manuscript; we cannot reckon the English farces and secular plays of the fourteenth century which have been lost. The fifteenth century in France, with its *sociétés joyeuses* and *puy*s, the *Clercs de la Basoche*, the *Enfants sans souci* and others, developed a popular, comic drama which England, suffering under the War of the Roses, could not keep up with.⁵¹ English minstrels did attempt this same thing, for about 1427 they are recorded as playing in interludes. In the middle of the century, wandering interlude players stirred the professional minstrels into open competition, and they organized a guild in 1469, which still exists today as the corporation of the "Musicians of London."⁵² Henry VII maintained his own minstrels and players, as did Henry VIII. These scanty evidences indicate that English farce existed before Heywood. But French farce is the only popular drama of this type which we can study as a background for Heywood's plays. The medieval minstrel recited the *fabliau*. The themes of the *fabliaux* appear in the popular ballads, but it is not until we come to the humbler branches of narrative, the unimportant *contes* and *dits* that we find the dialogue proper.⁵³ The *fabliau dialogué* develops next, and by the fifteenth century the *fabliau* has been dramatized into farce. The minstrels of France, like the wandering interlude players of England, were driven into the households of the nobles for protection. The *fabliau* dies, and the

⁵¹ See A. W. Ward, in *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, v. V, p. 22.

⁵² L. T. Smith, *York Plays*, p. xxxvii; *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, v. V, p. 28.

⁵³ Chambers, *Med. Stage*, v. I, p. 77 ff. Narrative minstrelsy involved the *fabliau* directly, also *chansons à danser* with a soloist and chorus, *chansons de mal-mariées*, etc.

minstrel becomes an actor, using his old materials to his new purpose. Karl Young has already pointed out that under Henry VII and Henry VIII the relations between England and France were very close. Heywood, in answer to the demand for a lighter drama at court, more entertaining than the old moralities, naturally took the comic drama as it was in France and adapted it to his English audiences. In discussing the sources of his plays, we have seen him using forms which may have existed in England before him, but which were certainly popular in France; the *fabliau-farce*, the *débat*, the *sermon-joyeux* and other elements utilized in the *sottie*.

Heywood is singularly unaffected by the Renaissance. The earliest example of classical figures in English comedy is in *Thersites* (1537), and we are not sure that this is his. All his other plays are before the time of *Thersites*, but he lived to see his drama swept away before the new fashions evident in *Ralph Roister Doister*, *Jack Juggler*, *Nice Wanton*, and *Gammer Gurton's Needle*. The play presented by Westcott before Elizabeth at Nonesuch, August 7, 1559, at which Heywood was present, was probably the *Nice Wanton*, and by that time drama had gone far beyond him and his Tudor interlude.⁵⁴

Some of Heywood's plays appear to have been written for children to present. The *Weather*, for instance, contains two female parts, and a small boy is required. There are at least two songs sung, one by the Gentlewoman, who was probably a choir boy. In the play of *Love* there is one female part, and provision is made for several songs. Heywood, as we have already seen, had several groups of boys available for his plays at this time. The play of *Witty and Witless*, educational and formal, may also have been written for these court children to present. The plays which fall naturally in the *débat* group are all somewhat didactic, they end upon an edifying note, and are presented in a scholastic manner which would

⁵⁴ Murray, *Dramatic Companies*, v. I, p. 328.

well become these schoolboys. The farces are very different; the wicked go off unpunished, the spirit is that of the *fabliau*, vulgar, comic, and without didacticism. These plays probably were presented by adult actors, perhaps by the king's players or men of the Chapel. Heywood, we have seen, lived his life chiefly at court. While More and Rastell were keenly interested in dramatics, and we may suspect that Heywood indulged in amateur theatricals with these relatives at Gobions or Finsbury, yet the plays which we have studied were all probably presented at court. Court drama was a thing of many forms and types: elaborate masks and pageants, witty disputes and debates, accompanied at times by fighting at "the barriers," and merry interludes to grace a banquet or to round out an evening's entertainment. In spite of the lavishness and extravagance of the disports, the court was quite childish in its recreations, and these simple plays would suit its mood. After a banquet, at one end of the hall, possibly with a chair or two, the most elaborate play could be presented.⁵⁵ This sort of drama was demanded by professional actors, who wished brief plays which could be presented without many properties or actors, easily portable, and of general appeal.⁵⁶ In addition to the plays already mentioned, which were obviously written for children to present, there are several notices of "Heywood's boys" giving performances, the nature of which we can but guess. In 1538 he played an interlude before Princess Mary with children. His mask of Arthur's Knights, in 1539, required hobbyhorses, which possibly were used by the children of the Chapel, and the unknown play prepared for Edward in 1553 was for twelve children. The little information we have concerning him as a writer of court masks shows Heywood versatile and active in providing a wide variety of entertainment for his courtly audience.

⁵⁵ Similar to the Spanish *entremes*, independent farces presented at dinners.

⁵⁶ Thorndike, *Shakespeare's Theatre*, pp. 14, 143.

The plays of Heywood which are preserved date from about 1530. From biographical references, however, we know Heywood presented plays and was connected with court entertainments down to 1559, but we cannot discuss these missing works. The extant dramas are unlike other plays preserved from this early period, such as Medwall's *Nature, Nature of the Four Elements, Hickscorner, Youth*, and Skelton's *Magnificence*. In searching the titles of some non-extant plays of the time, there seem to be a few which may have been similar to Heywood's plays, such as *Hit Nayle o'th'Head, Old Custome*, both mentioned in the *Play of Sir Thomas More*, and *débats* like *Riches and Love*, and *Riches and Youth*. But in spite of the fact that we find nothing in drama like Heywood's works, neither Bale nor Pitseus praises him for any innovation. None of his contemporaries, it is true, pays much attention to him as a dramatist. The drama contemporary with Heywood was, for the most part, the morality play in its various forms: the pure type, as in *Mundus et Infans*; the school play, as in Redford's *Wit and Science*, or in adaptations of the *Acolastus* theme; the political and controversial morality, as Bale's *King Johan* and the anonymous *Respublica*, or *Impatient Poverty*. The classical plays, begun early with the *Menaechmi* and *Phormio*, do not contribute to dramatic development until the day of *Ralph Roister Doister* and *Jack Juggler*, by which time the early plays of Heywood had lost their interest and distinction.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Thos. Wylley, vicar of Yoxford, c. 1537 writes to Cromwell: "I dedicate and offer to your Lordship a reverent receiving of the Sacrament as a Lenten matter declared by six children representing Christ, the Word of God, Paul, Austyn, a child, a nun called Ignoransy, as a secret thing that shall have his end once rehearsed afore your eye by the said children. The most part of the priests of Suffolk will not receive me into their churches to preach, but have disdained me ever since I made a play against the Pope's counsellors, Error, Colle Clogger of Conscience, and Incredulity, that an the Act of Parliament had not followed after, I had been counted a great liar." Brewer, v. XII, p. 244. He also adds, "I have made a play called a Rude

In Heywood we see the emergence from the medieval habit of considering humanity as a whole into the modern attitude towards realism and specific fact. The same transition is noticed in the non-dramatic literature of the century, from the treatment of humanity as types by Barclay to the highly specialized and realistic point of view of Greene in his knave literature. Heywood has used the *vice* twice in his plays, a character out of the morality, but in these instances out of French farce as well. The service performed by his interludes was in getting drama away from the morality. His farces begin comedy proper in English drama. The development of a unifying plot, which came later with the classical comedy, was still necessary. But Heywood perceived in drama the means of pure diversion and entertainment, of giving pleasure as its sole purpose. The possibility of vital drama lay in an advance to the portraiture of individualities, and to that goal Heywood led the way.⁵⁸

Commonalty. I am amaking of another called the Woman on the Rock, in the fire of faith affyning and apurging in the true purgatory, never to be seen but of your Lordship's eye."

A certain Moryson, c. 1542 proposes to the king a yearly memorial of the destruction of the Bishop of Rome, similar to the celebration of the victory of Agincourt at Calais, and the destruction of the Danes at Hocktide. "It would be better that the plays of Robin Hood and Maid Marion should be forbidden and others devised to set forth and declare lively before the people's eyes the abomination and wickedness of the Bishop of Rome, monks, friars, nuns and such like, and to declare the obedience due to the king." Brewer, XVII, p. 707.

⁵⁸ Schelling, *Eliz. Drama*, v. II, p. 397; Chambers, *Med. Stage*, v. II, p. 205.

CHAPTER VI

HEYWOOD'S NON-DRAMATIC WORKS

IF Heywood had mentioned his vocation in a word, it probably would have involved his service as a court musician. When his generation and his immediate successors paid tribute to him, they admired him as an epigrammatist. Doubtless he would have termed himself a poet, and have had in mind particularly his great work, the *Spider and the Fly*. We know him today, if at all, only as a rather crude figure in our primitive drama. His dramatic writings, however, were to him and his times the most incidental part of his work, so much so, in fact, that when the 1562 edition of his "works" appeared, none of his interludes was included. They were not "literary," not important enough to rank with his other productions. If this emphasis on his non-dramatic works seems strange, the reader should be reminded that this body of material is more than three times as large as the complete dramatic writings, including all the attributed pieces.

The poetry of Heywood, for all his work is written in verse, falls into three divisions: his songs, ballads, and occasional pieces; his proverbs and epigrams; and the long poem which is his *magnum opus*. It is impossible to guess what from his pen may be lost to us, especially the written material used in connection with the court masks, but his preserved writings total a goodly figure, especially if we consider that his life was not given completely, nor even primarily, to literature.

As a writer of songs and occasional poetry, Heywood must receive serious consideration. We have noticed in his dramatic works how frequently provision is made for a song, and very probably he wrote many lyrics to be used in his

court masks. It has already been suggested that as a composer of music he very likely wrote songs for court musicales. Just as his musical experiences extend over many years, so also his songs are not confined to any particular period of special activity. At least twelve of these lyric poems are preserved, which when put together show Heywood as a gallant courtier to the ladies, a political rimester, a devout and pious Catholic, a jolly good fellow whose geniality in drink and song would grace any banquet—in other words, these poems show him to be just what we have found him in a study of the facts of his life, a man who was many things in the course of his long span of years.

One of the most interesting poems is "A Description of a Most Noble Lady, adviewed by John Heywood, presently; who advertising her years, as face, saith of her thus, in much eloquent phrase"—and then follow twenty quatrains. This is his tribute to Princess Mary, probably written early in 1534, and after the fashion of Gabriel de Minut's *La Paule-graphie*, this may be termed Heywood's *Marie-graphie*, for we have in this poem another example of the *graphie*, used before in the *Play of Love*. The poem possesses freshness and sincerity, in spite of its superlatives and glorious comparisons with Diana, Penelope, and others. It seems more than merely a conventional compliment, such as Surrey's lyric from which Heywood may have derived his opening lines.¹ This poem was later included in Tottel's Miscellany, 1557, under "Poems by Uncertain Authors." The last two stanzas are omitted, which state that the poem was written by Heywood to Princess Mary when she was 18 years old. Perhaps this ending was deliberately omitted, for at the time

¹ Surrey: "Give place, ye lovers, here before
That spent your bostes and bragges in vaine," etc.

Heywood: "Give place, ye ladies! all be gone;
Show not yourselves at all.
For why? behold! there cometh one," etc.

of printing the Miscellany, Mary was on the throne, and though the poem is completely complimentary, it probably was deemed too intimate to have been written to the queen. If this view is correct the poem is an evidence of Heywood's sincerity, rather than merely a conventional compliment to a lady. The full title, given above, is the earlier one, quite typical of the "broadside" sort of heading.²

The majority of his short poems are contained in a manuscript miscellany which is joined to a copy of John Redford's play of *Wit and Science*.³ Nine of these poems are signed with Heywood's name. Another poem, "Long have I been a singing man," is printed in this collection with Redford's name below it, but this is evidently an error. In a different manuscript, formerly owned by B. Heywood Bright, now B. M. Ms. Cotton Vespasian A xxv, this poem is written and is signed "Finis Mr. Haywood." The strong autobiographical element which so well fits Heywood's life clearly shows him to be the author. Its theme, we shall see, is one which Heywood treated often in his writings.

It is believed that this Redford manuscript was compiled about 1545. Eight poems in the miscellany are not signed with any name, and possibly some of these belong to Heywood. The first poem bearing his name is short, only four stanzas in length, with the message that the grace of God

² Further see *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, v. III, p. 179; also Farmer, *Proverbs, Epigrams, Miscel. Heywood*, p. 298.

A change is noticed in stanza 16 in the two versions:

early: "How might we do to have a graff
Of this unspotted tree?"

Tottel: "How might I do to have a graff," etc.

The change is more personal, for the anonymity of the subject and the author prevents embarrassment because of the indelicacy.

³ The entire manuscript is published and available: J. O. Halliwell, *The Moral Play of Wit and Science and Early Poetical Miscellanies*, London Shakespeare Society, 1848, esp. pp. 62, 77, 79, 80, 86, 104, 106, 111, 114, 118'

is sufficient for all things, and the chorus after each stanza:

I desyre no number of many thyngs for store,
But I desyre the grace of God, and I desyre no more.

Another poem, of six 8-line stanzas, is even more religious, urging reformation and better actions with doleful warning. It begins:

Man, for thyne yll lyfe formerly,
And for thine ill lyfe presently,
Let penitence penitently
Declare good liffe consequently.

It may be suspected by the modern reader that the moral tone is superior to the poetical expression. The third poem is also of this moral group. It attacks the evil of idleness or sloth. Almost all other evils may be turned to some good, but not this sin, which is like a bad weed. The six 7-line stanzas are accompanied by the couplet refrain:

What hart can thynk or toong expres
The harme that groweth of idlenes?

Another, "A Ballad against Slander and Detraction," is one of Heywood's most vigorous poems. It has twenty 6-line stanzas (or rather three "fourteeners" broken for emphasis), each short and jolty, filled with ire and wrath. The slaying of babes and other horrid murder, he exclaims in his fierce indignation, are not worse than slander and detraction, lying and false tales. A refrain is added:

Gar call him down, gar call him down,
God send the faction, of all distraction,
Called down and cast away!

This piece, signed by Heywood, seems too hot for unprovoked composition. If we search about for some incident in his life which might have called forth this wrathful utterance, there is nothing more appropriate and fitting to suggest than

his imprisonment in connection with the Cranmer affair, against which he may have circulated, as a broadside, this indignant outburst. It is vehement to the point of undoubted sincerity.⁴ Another poem against malice, more restrained in tone and perhaps more conventional and unprovoked, is in his favorite 7-line stanza, six in number, with the refrain:

Man, yf thow mynd heven to obtayne,
Bere no males to no wyghte humayne.

In this group of moral poems belongs also his "Long have I been a singing man," which is in praise of the golden mean, but this will be considered later.

One of the most interesting of his songs is "A Ballad of the Green Willow," in which a lover complains of his lady's change of heart, ending:

When feminine fancies for new love do long,
Old love cannot hold them, new love is so strong;

and the doleful refrain:

All a green willow, willow
All a green willow is my garland.

While this may not be the first of the list, it is a predecessor of the Shakespearian adaptation which Desdemona sings:

Sing all a green willow must be my garland.⁵

This poem is composed of eight quatrains, with the refrain. It is most pleasing poetically, employing alliteration and a metrical lilt in happy combination, no doubt, with suitable music; it quite sings itself in the lines:

Now woe worth the willow, and woe worth the wight,
That windeth willow, willow garland to dight.

⁴ In addition to Halliwell, p. 114; see J. Lilly's *Ancient Ballads and Broad-sides*, 1867, p. 9; and Farmer, *Proverbs, Epigrams, Misc. Heywood*, p. 305.

⁵ *Othello*, Act 4, Sc. 3. Cf. also Gilbert and Sullivan, *Mikado*, "Titwillow."

Another love song is joyous in tone, singing of happy love. It is possibly an epithalamion to his wife, for perhaps the "two wills in one" refers to his own marital experience.⁶ The last two poems in the manuscript collection are typical banquet songs, such as might have been sung in his interludes. One, composed of fourteen quatrains, tells us to laugh at trouble which is never so bad as it seems, with the admonition:

Be merye, frendes, take ye no thoughte,
For worldlye cares care ye right nowghte.

And the other, equal to this one in verve and high spirits, sings:

Ye be wellcum, ye be wellcum,
Ye be wellcum, won by wone,

through eight stanzas, and from the reference to a dish offering in it, this is evidently a song of greeting and hospitality for a dinner.

His ballad upon the marriage of Mary and Philip, in 1554,

⁶ It is given here in full:

Yf love for love of long tyme had
May joyne with joy, and care hens cast,
Then may remembrans make me glad,
Dayes weekes and yeares in all tyme past,
My love hath lovyd me so loovyngly,
And I wyll love her as trewlye!

And as we twayne have lovd and doo,
So be we fxyd to love evyn styll;
The lawe of love hath made us too
To wurk to wylls in wone wyll:
My love wyll love me so loovyngly,
And I wyll love her as trewlye.

Ye lovers all in present place,
That long for love contynuall,
I wysh to you lyke pleasant case,
As ye perseve by me doth fall,
And yours to love as lovyngly!

has already been referred to. It was a poem for personal gain, not written surely from poetic inspiration, and not one of his best. Through twelve 7-line stanzas he heaps praise and adulation equally upon Philip and Mary, and with poor prophecy sings of a gentle and glorious rule for England. Another political poem can boast of more fire and sincere emotion. This "Brief Ballet touching the Traitorous Taking of Scarborough Castle" was circulated as a broadside printed by Thos. Powell in London.⁷ The poem, twelve stanzas long, is in praise of the defenders of Scarborough Castle, against rebellious insurgents who captured the stronghold by surprise, and who were soon beheaded for their achievement. It celebrates the conclusion of a series of attempts made by Thomas Stafford, nephew of Cardinal Pole, who deserted the Catholic cause and sought to overthrow the government, to establish himself upon the throne, for he was of royal lineage. This final exploit was made in 1557, when, equipped with men and ships from France, he captured the castle without warning, and posed as the savior of the English against Spanish invasion. He was hanged, drawn and quartered in May, 1557.⁸ The poem makes frequent reference to a "Scarborough warning," which expression, meaning no warning at all, is thought by some to have originated from this event.⁹ But Heywood used the expression in his *Dialogue of Proverbs against Marriage*, 1546, and also in his *Epigrams* which appeared before 1557. The same castle, however, was captured by surprise in Wyatt's rebellion, 1553-4. This expression, it seems, goes back of this event, for it was used by Mountain at the capture of Cambridge Castle in 1544. There was also an old custom which might have given rise to the expression; for Scar-

⁷ Farmer, *Proverbs, Epigrams, Misc.* Heywood, p. 311.

⁸ See *D. N. B.*, under "Stafford."

⁹ Farmer, *Proverbs, Epigrams, Misc.* Heywood, p. 433, following Fuller *Worthies*.

borough Castle fired without warning upon any vessel not striking sail which passed the promontory on which it was situated.¹⁰ Heywood himself, either with more or less information, agrees with none of these suggestions, for he says in the poem:

This term, Scarborough warning grew (some say),
By hasty hanging, for rank robbery there.
Who that was met but suspect in that way,
Straight was he trussed up, whatever he wear.

As for the poem "Long have I been a singing man," we see in this a repetition of a theme which Heywood used many times. It is in praise of the mean that he sings; neither to sing too high nor too low, too loud nor too soft. In Tottel's Miscellany, under "Poems by Uncertain Authors" in which Heywood's verses to Princess Mary are found, there is also a song entitled "The meane estate is best," which possibly comes from Heywood's pen, especially as we notice the same idea in *Epigrams upon Proverbs*, number 128, on Measure—"Measure is a merry mean," with ten variations of the epigram. And in the *Spider and Fly* we read the same sentiment, when the Spider gives paternal advice to his son (cap. 92):

And of the two extreme parts (as I take it)
The base is better than the treble to sing.

also:

The meane is the merry part, being sung right. ¹¹

Heywood's fame rested chiefly upon his epigrams and proverbs, which we can now consider. The earliest of these works is his "Dialogue conteynyng the number of the effectuall prouerbes in the Englishe tounge, compact in a matter concernynge two maner of maryages," printed by T. Berthelet in 1546. This was reprinted in 1547, 1549, 1556, and 1561,

¹⁰ *Lean's Collectanea*, v. I, p. 226, from Strype, *Memorials of Queen Mary*.

¹¹ Farmer, *Spider and Fly*, p. 398.

and then was included in the combined edition of his works in 1562, and again in 1566, 1576, 1587, and 1598. The great popularity of the piece is seen in these ten editions which appeared before the end of the century.¹²

This Dialogue, about 3000 lines long, is divided into two parts, each part into short units which he calls chapters, of which the first has thirteen, the second eleven. A short preface precedes, in which Heywood expresses a veneration and regard for the old, plain, pithy proverbs of his mother-tongue. They teach good lessons, but he will write, not to teach but to touch, and will employ them all in a dialogue between two friends regarding marriage. He treats himself as one of the friends, and tells of a young man who comes to him with a problem. He knows two women, one an old widow who is wealthy, the other a beautiful maiden who is poor. He needs money, but loves the poor maiden; which should he marry? Evidently the young man came to the right person for advice, for the other proceeds to debate the matter throughout the remainder of the piece. To point his argument, the older friend uses as examples the case of a young man who married an old woman, wealthy and doting, and of another who married a charming girl without dower, and tells of the great disaster which both men suffered. Through the piece, perhaps averaging one to every couplet, is strewn a wealth of proverbs and folk adages. In the final chapter the young man is quite overcome by the fate of the two others who were victims of unhappy marriages, and dreading the same in his case, renounces his intention and falls into conventional witticisms against marriage, holding that "In neither barrel better herring," and "No lack to lack a wife," and hence he will not marry at all.

It would be difficult to decide for which of two reasons this work enjoyed such great popularity. The theme and the

¹² Parks in Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, v. III, p. 376; Farmer, *Proverbs, Epigrams, Misc.* Heywood, p. 329; Sharman, *Proverbs*, p. xlviii.

manner both are interesting, and the combination is most happy. Collections of proverbs neatly applied became increasingly popular when folk sayings came to be the fashion later in the century.¹³ Here also, we have an excellent presentation of the medieval disputation adapted to the mood of the day, very similar to the method used in his *débats*, and upon one of the most approved *questions d'amour*. In this case, however, it is interesting to see how the question is turned about, with some loss of chivalry, for usually the lady had to decide between an old wealthy lover, or a handsome poor one. Moreover, there was perhaps just as much of a real problem behind all this in Heywood's day as there seems to be in the present century.

Heywood has given us here the first collection of folk proverbs in the English tongue. It was, we recall from the incident of presenting a copy to William Paulett, Marquis of Winchester, an attempt to include "all the proverbes in Englishe." Before Heywood, Alexander Barclay used some proverbs in their earlier form, introduced into his *Eclogues* and *Ship of Fools*.¹⁴ Heywood, furthermore, was careful in

¹³ Sharman, *Proverbs*, p. xiv, says: "There is little doubt that, after the appearance of Heywood's book in 1546, a new idea or influence was set working in English literature. . . . The author was by means of this work reminding the public of a property which the owners were inadvertently losing. That same meaning which the romancers before him had attempted to explain with an allegory, Heywood could promptly convey in a proverb. The romancers were rejected; Heywood's volume was hailed with acclaim. It became the most popular of all popular books. Ten times it was sent to press in the sixteenth century. Immediately on its appearance it gave a fillip to the nation's appetite for literary enjoyment; poets, play-writers, and statesmen made capital of its mine of proverbs. The Elizabethan dramatists are brimming with them. One orator delivered a speech in the House of Commons in which a proverb formed the substance of every sentence. Proverbs were adopted everywhere as devices for tapestry, as mottoes for knives, as inscriptions for rings and keepsakes." (Cf. the same thing in Spain; as in *Don Quixote*, Sancho Panza.)

¹⁴ Jamieson, ed *Ship of Fools*, v. I, p. li.

this work to limit himself almost exclusively to proverbs proper, while others before him have given us maxims.¹⁵

A natural connecting link between the *Dialogue of Proverbs concerning Marriage* and the *Epigrams* is found in Heywood's "Three Hundred Epigrammes, upon three hundred proverbes," which were printed with the other works in 1562. The *Epigrams on Proverbs* were published separately before this, however, for in Bale's account of Heywood (c. 1556) he mentions "Epigrammata Proverbiala . . . lib. 1," as though printed in one separate book, listed apart from the *Epigrams*. Some have thought that these *Epigrams upon Proverbs* were published before 1553, when Wilson refers in his *Rhetorique* to Heywood's proverbs; but this was probably the *Dialogue of Proverbs concerning Marriage*.¹⁶ After this work appeared with others in 1562, it was included in the subsequent editions, 1566, 1576,¹⁷ 1587, and 1598.

In these *Epigrams upon Proverbs* Heywood's custom is to cite some familiar proverb, and then by his own addition either to complete the meaning by carrying it further to some instance of life under his observation, or to disprove the proverb by some humorously incorrect application of it. He holds to no meter consistently, but usually adapts himself to that of the proverb when possible, although he frequently changes the proverb to suit his purpose or pun. He often adds a line to the proverb and makes the combination a couplet, frequently it becomes a quatrain, and occasionally extends even beyond a dozen lines.

Not one of the three hundred, it may be said, is dull reading, but we are wrong if we accept the title completely. For they are not always either proverbs or epigrams. Frequently he merely dresses up witty sayings and calls them proverbs, and then adds a few words of his own, and calls

¹⁵ W. C. Hazlitt, *Eng. Proverbs*, p. ix.

¹⁶ Park in Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, v. III, p. 373; see also page 75.

¹⁷ Dated 1577 in the colophon.

them epigrams.¹⁸ But this work is naturally a companion piece to the *Dialogue of Proverbs concerning Marriage*; it is another evidence of how wide-spread was the vogue which he began. The epigram was becoming as popular as the proverb, and the combination of the two was most felicitous. If we reverence Heywood as a pioneer in English drama, he deserves praise for his work in this field also. He does not altogether merit the blame for crudity which some give him; those worthies who wrote in his vein later in the century were able to scoff mildly because he was dead and gone, but even so he was "old Heywood," in a sense of esteem with the next generation of Elizabethan wits and epigrammatists.¹⁹

After writing this combination, the next step for Heywood to take was into the epigram proper. There are three "centuries" of *Epigrams* in his works. Bale, in his account, has listed the *First Hundred* and *Second Hundred Epigrams*, showing that these were either in print or were known by Bale in manuscript about 1556. In the 1562 edition of the works of Heywood a third hundred is added, which makes the sixth hundred if the 300 *Epigrams on Proverbs* are included—as was done by the publisher. This shows that the first two hundred *Epigrams* were printed before 1562, for the title to the last "century" of *Epigrams* reads, "Whereunto are now newly added a syxt hundred of Epigrams by the sayd John Heywood."²⁰ Many of his *Epigrams* were printed separately on flyleaves or broadsides. The antiquarian Dibdin states he possessed two, printed on a long slip of paper, on one side

¹⁸ W. C. Hazlitt, *Eng. Proverbs*, p. xv.

¹⁹ Lyly in his *Euphues* used Heywood's Proverbs very frequently, both by direct quotation and by adaptation. Cf. Ed. Morris W. Croll & Harry Clemons, Lond. 1916. Unfortunately this edition refers to John Heywood constantly as Thomas Heywood.

²⁰ In the 1562 edition, the 300 *Epigrams on Proverbs* are placed after the first hundred *Epigrams* and before the second hundred, but in the 1598 edition, the *Epigrams on Proverbs* precede, and after them follow the three "centuries" of *Epigrams* in proper order.

only, and bearing the imprint, "Printed at London by Rowland Hall for James Rowbotham, and are to be sold at his shoppe under Bow Church." ²¹

These *Epigrams* are occasionally abbreviated narratives, a curious body of mixed material involving animal fables, merry jests and any other *jeu-d'esprit* he wished to include, provided it was short and pithy enough to suit his conception of what made up an epigram. Anthony aWood has stated, "It has even been said that sir Thomas More assisted Heywood in the composition of his epigrams." ²² But this is too vague to be valuable, although Heywood probably had heard many witty thrusts from More which were later worked up and utilized by him. It does not seem likely that Heywood was seriously at work upon his *Epigrams* before 1535, when More was alive, although materials for them would be prized by one in his position at court, where wit made success. At least one "epigram," however, comes from the More circle. Ellis Heywood, in his *Il Moro*, tells of a guest at More's home who had a very long nose, which brought forth an ejaculation concerning it from a member of the household, in the gentleman's hearing. More gave a glance of rebuke, whereupon the confused man said that the guest had a really handsome nose, in fact hardly any nose at all. Another rebuke followed, and then came the assertion that the gentleman had no nose whatsoever! This incident is also told in Cresacre More's *Life of Sir Thomas More*, and in Erasmus' *Apothegms*. Heywood has given this family joke

²¹ Farmer, *Proverbs, Epigrams, Misc.* Heywood, p. 329. It also might be shown that the first hundred *Epigrams* were published separately in book form, from Epigram No. 1:

This book may seem, as it sorteth truth,
A thin trim trencher to serve folk at fruit.
But carver or reader can no way win
To eat fruit thereon, or compt fruit therein.

²² A. aWood, *Athenae Oxon.*, ed. 1721, vol. I, p. 348.

in his "epigram" called "Of the Fool and the Gentleman's Nose."²³

Howsoever these witty verses may fail as pointed epigrams, they are good evidence of the nimble and sprightly humor which won a place for Heywood at court. In them he combines skilfully the vigor and lightness of touch which is characteristic of true comic genius, without pedantry, knowing that a sharp word or a laugh of light satire will effect as much as heavy denunciation and dull moralizing. This same rare combination we have seen him effect in his dramatic works.²⁴

Heywood's greatest work we now consider last. The long poem entitled "A Parable of the Spider and the Flie," was printed "At London in Flete Strete by Tho. Powell," in 1556. It is composed of about 7600 verses, in the Chaucerian 7-line stanza, made into 98 chapters, with a lengthy Preface and a Conclusion. It is decorated with many elaborate wood-cuts showing the author at his table observing the progress of the story as it is enacted in the spider-web on the window-pane before him. The cuts show the details of the developments occurring in each chapter. In addition to an elaborate title page there is also a frontispiece, a full-length portrait of John Heywood, which is again printed further in the book. This is a copy of the portrait which we have noticed in the first edition of *Gentleness and Nobility*. The book is printed

²³ First Hundred Epigrams, No. 86. See also *Censura Literaria*, v. IX, pp. 118, 122.

²⁴ A. W. Ward, ed *Spider and Flie*, Spenser Soc., pp. iii, iv.

The theme of *Witty and Willess* was long in Heywood's mind; cf. 1st. hundred, Epigram No. 16, "A Fool and a Wise Man"; No. 87, "A Fool taken for Wise"; also 5th hundred, Epigram No. 79, "Of Difference between Wise Men and Fools"; No. 81, "Of Choice to be a Wise Man or a Fool."

In addition to the many editions which Heywood's *Epigrams* enjoyed, we have evidence of their popularity in the fact that the *Bannatyne Ms.* contains nine of these epigrams, all bearing Heywood's name (pp. 450-2, 456-7, 1079).

with evident care and art; it was the masterpiece of an important gentleman of the court.

But the masterpiece was a failure. Praise of this work is difficult to find even among his contemporaries. It was not popular; its length and intricate allegory did not entice many readers. Harrison, in his "Description of Britaine" prefixed to Holinshed's *Chronicle*, refers to it: "One hath made a booke of the *Spider and the Flie*, wherein he dealeth so profoundlie, and beyond all measure of skill, that neither he himself that made it, neither anie one that readeth it, can reach unto the meaning thereof."²⁵ Warton has called the battle between the spiders and flies, an episode in the poem, an awkward imitation of the Homeric *Batrachomyomachy*—which would have surprised Heywood greatly. Ellis says it is "utterly contemptible" and tiring; Sharman boasts of never having read it, and of knowing only one man who has.²⁶

Most of the condemnations of this work, however, are made by those who have not read it. The poem has risen in esteem more recently. Two reprints have been made, and it has become for us a very important social study of the sixteenth century.²⁷ A careful reading of it is sure to take the student beyond the confines of religious allegory. Catholics and Protestants are put into the poem, but chiefly as members of a class struggle. It is true that long works of a by-gone age are not most inviting forms of light reading, but its length is no great fault. As Ward points out, ignorance of its contents has condemned it; but to a student of the period, this work will approach even light and amusing reading, to say

²⁵ Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, v III, p. 379, from Holinshed, *Chronicle*, p. 229.

²⁶ Geo. Ellis, *Specimens*, v. II, p. 16; Sharman, *Proverbs Heywood*, p. xlvii.

²⁷ Especially in the researches of Dr. Jakob Haber, *Heywood's Spider and Fly*. An extended criticism and appreciation of this poem is found in the introduction of A. W. Ward's edition, Spenser Soc. 1894, to which I refer the reader.

nothing of its great value as a historical and social document.

In the Preface, Heywood exhorts his reader to peruse a short parable on the reading of parables; of three women, dressing before one mirror, each seeking to look better than the other two. Each one looked so much at the others that she neglected herself and was dressed awry. Two laughed at the third, but when each woman looked in the glass at herself alone, she saw her carelessness and mended her fault. So also if book readers will look at themselves alone in this book, it will not be in vain. The Preface is cleverly written; Heywood is observed putting his best foot forward, employing all the arts of his day, puns, plays upon words, long and intricate sentences, and a characteristic sprightliness of wit, seeking to attract his readers by devices which now might frighten them away.

Then he turns straight to his story. The author sits by a window to read, but is diverted by a Fly who falls into a Spider's web. The Fly laments his case, and delivers a monologue upon the fickleness and deceit of Fortune, urging others to believe Fortune only when she frowns and to distrust her smile. The Spider is filled with terror when he feels his web rudely shaken, and Heywood dwells upon his fright with delightful humor. The Spider has been sleeping comfortably with his wife and two children, and when he descends and beholds the poor Fly, he is angry with himself for being frightened. He will kill the Fly, but first returns to his family to reassure them. The Spider's children beg a juicy piece of the Fly's brain. The Fly plans meanwhile to use all his wit against the Spider, and upon his reappearance, begs for a fair trial and a hearing. Finally the Spider agrees to try him according to reason, law, custom, and conscience.

Before beginning to plead, the Fly asks pardon in advance for any harshness of speech his vehemence might cause. This granted, the trial begins. The Fly maintains there are no witnesses to show that he harmed the Spider, and asks

release on bail. The Spider holds that his presence there and the damage done are sufficient witness and denies bail. He charges the Fly with burglary, but the Fly shows it was daylight when he entered the web, and the point is lost. The Spider then accuses felony, but the Fly maintains he did not enter the web wilfully, and is not there to steal. This the Spider admits, but roughly challenges the Fly to show how he will get out of the net, and asks how a Fly knows law so well. He is told that he learned it at Westminster Hall, where no Spiders with their webs are allowed. The Spider now demands argument and proof that the Fly came into the web unwillingly.

After much argument and debate which leads nowhere, the Spider changes his charge, and holds the Fly for trespass and damage to property, to which the other answers that the web was built in a public highway, and liable to damage. The Spider then asks the Fly's name, which is Buzz, and deems him a great leader, for other flies talk of no one but Buzz, and suspects that his prisoner is the instigator of all the damage done by other flies. Of course the Fly denies this, and returns to his plea that windows are highways, open by authority of custom and unwritten law. The Spider denies in turn that this custom is universal, and at this the Fly proposes that the case be taken elsewhere for appeal, but the Spider insists that the trial be held where the offence was committed. As tenants of the window must obey the laws of the lord thereof, himself, they are not privileged to go to higher courts. But the Fly insists he is no tenant, and that windows are flies' freehold by common law, and then drifts into a long and impassioned speech upon justice, mercy, and tyranny, during which the Spider is silent, and the Fly thinks he has made a good impression.

But to his dismay he finds upon concluding that the Spider has been sound asleep. He offers to repeat his homily and pleading, but the Spider maintains that his health will not

permit him to sleep twice in the same day, and surely he would fall asleep once more if the Fly should rehearse his speech. The Fly begs that other flies be appointed as judges, but the Spider rejoins that he is as wise as twelve foolish flies; whereupon the relative merits of the species are discussed and debated—evidently an allegory for lords versus commons.

Then, after the manner of the medieval disputation, they each agree that impartial judges are needed to decide the all-important problem of the freehold of windows. The Spider chooses an Ant, the Fly takes a Butterfly for the judge-advocates. These are brought together, and each contestant has a secret conference with his judge. The Ant is sly and crafty, the Butterfly blunt and honest, without much shrewdness. They call in witnesses, other spiders and flies, who are heard separately upon the question of freehold. This part of the trial is given with great detail, and the whole matter conducted with extreme formality. The judges finally rule that the decision rests upon the honesty of both parties, at which, a spider and a fly, both hot-tempered, argue and taunt each other concerning the relative honesty of spiders and flies. Each is offended, and the debate is broken up by both departing in high dudgeon. During all this matter, the captive Fly has been reading his book of devotions, somewhat withdrawn from the others.

The judges then make report to the principals, that each side has equal claim and no decision can be made. At this moment the spider and the fly who had parted in rage bring up huge armies to force a decision by arms. Instantly the spiders construct a strong fort about the web, and are placed upon the defensive. The flies capture the Ant and would hang him, but the leader persuades them to use him as an envoy, and sends him to the spiders' fort, telling them to surrender or the Ant will be killed. The spiders are terror-stricken by the Ant's picture of the ferocity of the flies, but their leader rallies them, and they refuse to surrender.

The flies imprison the Ant, and begin the attack. After a short but fierce battle, 500 spiders and 5000 flies are killed, and the contestants retire for rest. Then the Spider's wife and two children beg him to make peace for their safety, and a council is held. The flies likewise hold deliberations; each side is in fear of the other, and all yearn for peace. The Ant again is sent to parley, and wins honorable terms from the chief Spider, the flies being allowed freedom of limited parts of windows. The terms are accepted, peace is declared, both armies disband and return home.

The captain of the flies is disgruntled, and tells a few followers that he will never again risk his neck for such small gain. The Ant, returning to his family, blames himself for seeking glory out of his place, and realizes he should never have meddled with spiders. The chief Spider now returns to the captive Fly and his trial. In order to make the pleading more effective, and to help towards a just settlement, the two change places, and the Spider pleads before the Fly who sits as judge. But the Fly, puffed with pride, gives away his side of the case by over-reaching himself. He then confesses he has been blinded by pride, and they change back again to their original status. Reason and law not helping to any conclusion, they agree to try the matter by conscience and custom. After long dispute, the Spider rules out conscience, and finally condemns the Fly to death by custom. The Fly calls in twelve friends and to them gives his last words and warning, then submits himself to his fate.

Just as the Spider is about to kill the Fly, the Maid of the house comes in and with her broom sweeps down the cobweb, and the Fly escapes through the window. When she is about to kill the Spider, he asks a hearing and trial, but she refuses, saying that she knows all that has gone on before, and condemns the Spider to death on the same grounds as those on which he had sentenced the Fly. The Spider is permitted to speak to his twelve councillors and his son,

all his discourse being strongly didactic; then he embraces his son and is crushed by the Maid.

The Maid then calls the twelve spiders and twelve flies before her, and informs them that both have offended her master and mistress, the spiders encroaching too much on the windows, and the flies venturing too boldly on the meat. The spiders are commanded to remain in their rightful place at the tops of the windows, out of reach, and the flies more temperately to use the windows. They thank her for her justice and depart, while she cleans the window well. The author, beholding this, is satisfied, and leaves for dinner.

Then follows "The Conclusion with an exposition of the Author touching one piece of the latter part of this parable." In it we are told the window represents the plot of the world, and the spiders and flies are the striving factions and parties therein, while the Maid is Queen Mary who labors diligently and faithfully, with mildness and mercy, to clear away disorders from her window, killing only one spider, as we have seen, and that more in sorrow than in anger. This execution was necessary for example. The Maid's master is Christ, "the head master principal," and her mistress is "Mother holy Church Catholical." The author ends with a prayer for the Maid and "our sovereign lord Philip, to her brought by God, as God brought her to us."

The most valuable hint given us, in striving to find out what all this means, is in the opening lines of the *Conclusion*:

I have, good readers, this parable here penned,
After old beginning newly brought to end.
The thing, years more than twenty since it begun,
To the thing years more than nineteen, nothing done.
The fruit was green, I durst not gather it then,
For fear rotting before ripening began.
The loss (it on the fruiterer's hand lying)
Had (in that mystery) marred his occupying.
This work (among my poor works) thus hath it passed,
Begun with the first, and ended with the last.

If all this is not a blind to protect Heywood from touching too familiarly upon the divided sympathies of Mary's policy, we may suppose the poem to have been conceived and begun some twenty years before 1556.

What were the events, then, about the years 1534-1536, which might have suggested this work to Heywood? The Act of Supremacy, Nov. 3, 1534, hurt Heywood and his Catholic friends. The persecution of Catholics in 1535 was still more alarming. The execution of Sir Thomas More, on July 6, 1535, must have been one of the most impressive incidents of his life, and in the early outlines of his poem this event was probably contemplated. In September, 1536, the "Pilgrimage of Grace" was made, a religious uprising, a protest by the masses who took into their own hands all redress for their wrongs. The demands of the leaders were that religious houses should be restored, the subsidy should be remitted, the clergy should pay no more tenths and first-fruits to the crown, the Statute of Uses should be repealed, villain blood should be removed from the Privy Council, and that the heretic bishops should be deprived of office and punished—and we may suspect that Cranmer was thought of in this connection.

Possibly in the early scheme of the poem the witty Fly, a leader and a famous brother to his fellows, was to have been Sir Thomas More, caught in the web of Henry VIII and the plottings of his queen. The web was wrongfully placed in a free area; if the web were in its rightful place the Fly would not have been caught.²⁸ So if Henry had not defied the Church and worked unlawfully with Anne Boleyn, More would not have been caught. The flies collected a large army

²⁸ It may be that Heywood had More in mind throughout Cap. 2, when the Fly, caught in the web of the Spider, laments his change in fortune. The Fly was a leader of others and was esteemed by all. He was honored and respected and won his position "by mine experience and mother wit." When he was present, no other fly would sit, and "my worthy wit did worship win."

to fight against unlawful deeds, as Robert Aske, the leader of the "Pilgrimage," gathered about him some 30,000 Catholics. In any case, these were not propitious years for Heywood to publish. He was compelled to remain quiet, and even profess to be a good Protestant. "The fruit was green, I durst not gather it then." The situation was not improved after the death of Henry, in 1547, and during the reign of Edward. The reaction came in 1553, under the rule of Mary. Roman Catholicism was restored; in February, 1554, John Wyatt and his rebels were executed, and the "mild Maid" had begun to set her kingdom in order.

It has been suggested that the spiders' fort was Skipton Castle, attacked by the general of the flies, Robert Aske. In 1549 another rebellion similar to the "Pilgrimage" broke out in the south, named, from its leader, "Ket's Rebellion." This might have given to Heywood the episode of the Ant who was nearly hung by the flies. Robert Ket, a tanner, hung upon the "Oak of Reformation" outside Norwich all country gentlemen who were brought before him accused of robbing the poor. Ket did not give in to hasty hanging, but insisted upon investigating each case. On July 31, 1549, the King's herald was about to be hung, but upon deliberation, he was, like the Ant, released by the commander.²⁹

Under the leader of the flies there were motley groups of inefficients, which brought forth the remark:

What a sort of captain cobblers have we here,
Under our grand captain. (Cap. 56)

In the disorders of 1549, Nicholas Melton, a shoemaker and cobbler, led a band under the general, and D. Mackarll, a monk, named himself "Captain Cobbler."³⁰ Heywood seems to refer to these.

²⁹ A. W. Ward, ed. *Spider and Flie*, p. x; Froude, *Hist. of Eng.*, Chap. 26.

³⁰ Haber, *Heywood's Spider and Flie*, p. 40; Speed, *Hist. Great Britain*, v. II, p. 772.

The story of the *Spider and Fly* is not compact. It does not give the impression of complete unity. Spiders and flies seem to represent more than Protestants and Catholics, and the final episode of the work does not appear to have been foreshadowed in previous situations. It evidently was a conclusion which suggested itself to him as he was approaching the end of the poem, coming from events near at hand. The greatest spider of all, as Heywood found from extended and unhappy experience, was Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. By Mary's policy of exemplary repression he was burned to death at Oxford, March 21, 1556. It is true that the worst of Mary's persecution of Protestants came after this date, and so Heywood has some justification in calling her a "mild, merciful maiden,"—

And as under that maid spider died but one,
So under this maid, save one (in effect), none.

Before the Maid in the poem crushed the Spider, she permitted him to speak, to warn his kind against falling into his errors and to confess his fault and admit that he deserved his fate. So Cranmer, before his death, preached to the people, recanting and confessing his errors, and submitted himself to death meekly and penitently. Heywood refers to this incident:

And as that one under that one maid did die
Repentant, so this other repentantly,
Under this other maid, the death meekly took.³¹

³¹ Ward, ed *Spider and Fly*, p. ix, suggests that the head Spider is the Duke of Northumberland, who was executed in connection with Wyatt's rebellion in 1553. But no evidence is shown, and from what we have seen of Heywood's connection with Cranmer, there seems to be little doubt that Heywood referred to the Archbishop. The date of 1553 does not seem so satisfactory, moreover, as the date of Cranmer's death, 1556.

The Fly, speaking of his great age (Cap. 36), remarks:

"I was bred in the year of the great frost
Before the great sweat; when many flies were crossed
Out of the book of life," etc.

The allegory of the poem is not entirely consistent. At times we may believe that the flies are the poor persecuted Catholics, but they obviously represent more than this. In point of virtue it seems that neither side is better than the other, though our sympathies fall on the side of the flies. The spiders are wealthy aristocrats, landed proprietors, noblemen and leaders of the people. They should set a good example to the common folk. Just before the Spider's death he says to his son's councillors:

Now to you of his counsel, mark what I devise.
 In you lieth the putting in ure of all this;
 You are his hands, his feet, his ears, and his eyes;
 Hearing, feeling, or seeing, in him small is
 To walk or to work with, you working amiss.
 You are the mirrors that all lookers look in,
 As you work, they work, but you must first begin.
 (Cap. 92)

Ward suggests that either 1506 or 1517 is referred to, both years suffering a visitation of the sweating sickness. Though as a rule these visitations were preceded by rainy winters, in January 1506, a great frost occurred during which the Thames was frozen over, and a similar frost occurred in January 1517. But even if we knew which year was meant, it would carry us no further.

It might be remarked here that Haber proposes that when the Fly suggests taking the trial to Westminster, a similar argument was used in the "Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset," (E. E. T. S. XII, 32). Also the attack made (in Cap. 31) upon evil judges and lawyers finds a parallel in Barclay's *Ship of Fools*, and works of protest like Tindale's *Obedience of a Christian Man*, a ballad entitled *The Image of Ypocresye* (c. 1533), and the chapter "Of Prolongyng of the Lawe and certen abuses of the same," in the *Complaynt of Roderick Mors*, pp. 44-8.

Swoboda also has suggested a general similarity between this poem and a long work by Sir William Forest, *History of Grisild the Second*. Forest was chaplain to Catherine of Aragon and a staunch Catholic. He, too, says he wrote his poem twenty years earlier, and then wisely published it when Mary came to the throne (p. 33). J. Unna, *Die Sprache Heywoods*, follows Brandl, *Quellen*, p. 49, and differs from all others in believing that Heywood commenced his poem in 1529, laid it aside in 1530, and published it after he had resumed work upon it in 1550-1556.

A pertinent economic problem of the time is touched upon in the debate of the representative spider and fly, just before they depart from the others to raise armies for the rescue of their principals. The question of the landlord spiders who raise rents, cancel leases, and persecute tenants has been brought up. The fly farmers then increase the price of produce, and the cost of living soars. The spokesman for the flies continues:

Wise flies cannot brook it, for they find in book
This demand written, When Adam dolve and Eve span,
Who was, in those golden days a gentleman? (Cap. 44)

We have in this chapter a flavor of the literature of Wicliffe's time and of the days of the Peasants' Revolt; a rude socialism is preached, and we hear talk of the nobility grabbing the common land, of feasting lords and starving commons. Throughout the poem, we find it takes ten or twelve flies to equal one spider in battle, in power, wealth, dignity, and worthiness. Times were bad, we hear from the leader of the flies. He tells (in Cap. 72) of the wrongs they suffer from the spiders, intolerable exactations and break-back burdens, and of perpetual shackling which drives them to rebel.

Where flies with spiders in this kind of strife strive,
We win nought but wretchedness; the craft will not thrive.
(Cap. 82)

To Heywood, a courtier close to the throne, the powerful nobles who stood aloof from the Catholic queen were good targets. Mary feared the mighty spiders more than the common flies, who had not completely gone over to Protestantism. Her policy must be shrewd, and Heywood points the way in a discussion of power and pity (Cap. 70), which must join together as man and wife for the common weal, the husband to command policy and the wife to obey, but with mercy.

But as Heywood emerges from the struggle he describes between the two warring parties, he attains a view of the state which is similar to the *Leviathan* of Hobbes:

And did we consider but this present life,
Yet must we live in an order here (perde!)
The God hath placed us all to live out of strife,
Spiders, flies, and ants, each sort in their degree.
Spiders, in head parts of windows, the heads be;
Flies in the midst, the body as it were;
Ants at the low part, the feet, accounted there. (Cap. 79)

But above all is the king; and he expresses his belief in the dogma of divine right when he argues the compulsion of all good laws:

And a king, called in scripture God's anointed,
Hath (of God) gifts above the rest appointed.
God promiseth to rule the hearts of kings,
Which gift sheweth a king above the rest. (Cap. 27)

Heywood was not blind to the defects of monarchism, however. The Spider suggests, as spiders are more powerful than many flies, that a spider may be compared to a king, and the flies to a senate. But he is apprehensive, and quickly adds:

We no whit mean those states embased to be
By our talk, as a king in property to show
Like a spider, or comparison to grow
In flies and a senate for property of flies.

Both agree that a senate can rule as well as a king, and the implication is unavoidable that a bad king is more easily found than a bad senate. Heywood, at Chelsea and London, as a young man, probably heard Sir Thomas More discuss statecraft and democracy in terms which he could read for himself in the *Utopia*. Heywood was not a mean courtier, abject in his opinions, but held clear ideas upon political affairs and social movements which no reader of this poem

can ignore. He hits at corruption in laws, ministers, and governors with sincere vigor.

He has no use for neutrals. When the flies vote upon the execution of the Ant, two of them withdraw and converse for a chapter (No. 63) about non-voters, or "neuters." These neutrals are like his epigram upon the buckets in a well; they stay in the bucket going down only long enough to meet the bucket coming up. They never stay with one party until it sinks. They "bear the bell away," they are esteemed first, and are followers of fashion, they eat the best, "there they flicker and flatter, in favor to grow," they go from one host to another and their current coin is low curtesy and fair words. They are foe-like friends and friend-like foes, like mermaids half flesh and half fish. And so he goes on, saying we can stand open foes and like the oak be strong in the storm, but these "unnatural neutrals" we must always avoid, ending:

Be we spiders, be we flies, whatever we be,
That we all may (by His grace) cut off clearly
All unkindness of neuterlike indifference.

Over against this attitude of Heywood's we can place his love of peace and concord—not inconsistent with his attack upon "neuters." Many passages in his poem show his hatred of war and strife. It settles nothing permanently, he argues, and:

War hath done more harm than tale of tongue can hold,
War hath done no good, and nought can not be told.

(Cap. 57)

And when he beholds the factions in battle, he exclaims,

My heart shaketh at the sight, behold, it is hell!

The Ant, also (in Cap. 75), makes a long speech against war, which we may believe expresses Heywood's attitude, and he himself suggests, instead of

Sturdily standing with bill in foul fighting,
the alternative,

But humbly suing, with bills of fair writing.

The object of the poem is to show the way to concord and peace between parties:

To considerate weighing of faults of our own,
 And then (by grace) t'amend, for concord growing,
 As spiders and flies grow to, herein showing.
 But, faults and faulters, erst repented and past,
 Which faults (I hope) none on himself can now cast,
 Figured here in the spider's cruelty,
 Touching deeds and deaths of those that so passed be,
 Let us rather (when memory them to mind calls),
 Lament their false facts than rejoyce their foul falls;
 And pray for them, as we hope they pray for us,
 That they and we, by God's merciful discuss,
 May (after strife together in life carnal),
 Live and love together in life eternal.

Perhaps, from the recital of the historical and moral aspects of this poem, the impression is given that it is somewhat heavy reading. Such is not the case, for the work is practically a mock-epic. The agonies of spiders and flies are not depicted with the desire to torture the reader, but rather to entertain him. The wit and humor vary from delicate to coarse, pages are enlivened with many of the proverbs and folk sayings Heywood collected so enthusiastically, whimsical conceits abound, and even the parts which now might seem dull to some were in his time perhaps the brightest of the book—the long-drawn, fine-spun arguments burlesquing the jargon of lawyers and forensic schoolmen. We are entertained by such an argument as the Spider makes, for instance, in maintaining that it was night when the Fly entered his web (sustaining the charge of burglary) even though the sun was shining, because he was asleep in his bed, and would have been so for hours longer had he not been interrupted. The Fly's answer is that in such a case, anyone could make it midnight by a wink at noon (Cap. 11). When the Spider is required to take oath, he lies on his back and tosses his six

feet aloft, swearing by all three crosses thus made (Cap. 8). The Fly, before his capture in the net, is jovially described:

But for a fly, oh Lord! how he then sang
Two notes above his highest note before!
Wherein increased his courage more and more,
He flew, he frisked, he tossed, he turned about,
The fly of flies, no fly, I trow, so stout. (Cap. 1)

A touch of Elizabethan roughness of humor is sensed in the telling of how the Fly desired his captor to remove a little farther off, his fear inhibiting his pleading:

I thank you humbly (quoth the fly), but, sir,
Of a goose with garlic sauced so late I eat,
That my breath stinketh, and since I may not stir
From you, for you I think it very meet
To step from me aloof to air more sweet. (Cap. 6)

The Spider moves away, and the Fly breathes easier. The simple Butterfly, when exalted to the high position of a judge-advocate, plays at being learned to impress the others and mumbles extraordinary malapropisms, and his sort of Latin, "Audum, altum, paltum,"—

This term, set far from the Latin and more such,
Learned in the school of ignorance, he spake much,
And understood little.

Of this character Heywood also says:

The butterfly studied not what words to speak,
But to speak with voice clear, he coughed and he spit,
Till his voice was much more clear than his wit. (Cap. 36)

Towards the end of the book, as the allegory grows closer and the moral more clear, Heywood, with suitable dignity, employs less and less direct humor. The didactic element, indeed, and the humorous are seldom found together.

The author, as if realizing that this work was too lengthy for easy reading, arranges to review his matter frequently.

Each time an important new character is introduced, the argument up to that point is repeated. Frequently he avoids padding his work with irrelevancies. When two characters talk at the same time, the author says he cannot hear both, and reports only one conversation (Cap. 30), and if one whispers to another (as in Cap. 32) he confesses he cannot hear what is said, and the reader is grateful for this humorous realism.

We may suspect that Heywood enjoyed writing a morsel of religious satire upon the controversy which raged throughout the period of the Reformation over freewill and conscience. The case between the Spider and Fly rests upon whether the Fly entered the web with or without freewill. Will, with and without power, and chance, are discussed and argued with a finesse possible now only with theological logicians (Cap. 15).³² The old dispute between faith and works crops up (in Cap. 30) when the Fly pleads for a trial by conscience. The Spider turns on him sharply and scolds with pent-up irritation for his eternal harping upon conscience, which the Fly elaborately defends.

The *débat* and disputation, which Heywood adapted in so many of his works, are used here also. In fact, the entire piece is almost a debate. Like a medieval schoolman, Heywood divides his argument into a mosaic of sub-heads and prosecutes each to the limit. Perhaps only a legal mind today would fully enjoy the hair-splitting defense of the Fly.³³

³² Readers of Chaucer will recall an argument in *Troilus and Creseide*, Bk. IV, on the same subject; Ward, ed. *Spider & Fly*, p. xv.

³³ The favorite theme of *Witty and Witless* is referred to in this poem:

"So might I haply be happy (quoth he)
But I could not be both happy and wise.
This proverb proveth this a fool's decree." (Cap. 22).

It might be that the use of "When Adam delved and Eve span," etc., in this poem (Cap. 44) and in *Gentleness and Nobility* points also to Heywood as the author of the latter.

The beginning of the poem reminds us of Chaucer's *Prologue*:

In season what time every growing thing,
That ripeth by root, hath lively taken heart,
Grass, leaf, and flower, in field so flourishing, etc.

And so he enters into a bit of nature description which has the virtue of being good poetry and seemingly sincere. Many of the devices he employs fortunately have gone out of style; in addition to various forms of punning, he frequently plays upon a word and carries it through many parts of speech, as in the line,

Which to your behoof behavingly behave.

It would be difficult to point out passages in this poem which are notable for high poetic expression because, perhaps, this sort of work does not seek too aesthetic a manner, but one passage may be quoted to show Heywood writing in a Spenserian vein—except the closing lines!

But as the firmament most clear and blue,
The golden sunbeams bent to beautify,
The curtain drawn of cloudy weeping hue
Withdraweth, and changeth that crystal azure sky
From blue to black, so fareth it with the fly;
Amid whose joy, at window to have passed,
A cobweb masketh his wings and maketh him fast.

(Cap. 1)

Heywood expresses in his own way, also, the dolorous sentiment of Dante:

Alas! my joyful joy of yesterday,
How can it cure my careful care present?
Of pleasure past, remembrance doth alway
The pinch of present pain right much augment;
Then in this present case this consequent,
Concludeth (I say) all pleasure past to be
Nought else but vanished vain vanity. (Cap. 2)²⁴

²⁴Reference to studies of Heywood's poetics will be found on page 155.

This completes our discussion of all the works written by and attributed to John Heywood. It is amusing to read of another work of his, termed *Monumenta Literaria* by Langbaine.³⁵ Referring to Fuller, we find nothing further than this citation to help us. But the mystery is cleared away upon reading the account of Heywood given by Pitseus, whence it is plain Fuller derived the material he so completely misunderstood. Pitseus says, "Non pauca tradidit posteris litteraria monimenta, non tam labore," etc., and we are relieved to find that we have already studied Heywood's *Monumenta Literaria*.³⁶

Occasionally we may find expressed in scholarly discussions of this period the opinion that Heywood was a royal jester, a king's fool. Sharman believed this, and Chambers has suggested some faith in the opinion. There is, of course, nothing to show that Heywood was a court jester. He was proud of his wit, boasted of it in the epigram upon himself, and enjoyed the popularity it brought him at court. But we have seen that the professional jester, Will Somer, Henry's fool, was Heywood's most outspoken hatred, and all his attack is based on the fact that Somer's profession was that of "sot." If Heywood's position were anything even faintly resembling Somer's, he would not thus have given opportunity to his enemies to thrust him with the same point. The manorial grant of Bolmer was made to him as "Gentleman." He is also termed "Gentleman" in the Fox manuscript list of those who were "fugitives over the sea."³⁷ Furthermore, if his position as singer, player on the virginals, and steward of the chamber were not sufficient specification of his precise court duties, there would most probably have

³⁵ "Dr. Fuller mentions a Book writ by our Author, intituled *Monumenta Literaria*, which are said to be *Non tam labore condita, quam lepore condita*." *Acct. of Eng. Dram. Poets*, p. 253.

³⁶ See Appendix, page 168.

³⁷ Strype, *Annals of Reformation*, v. II, part 2, p. 597.

been some more definite title or designation applied to him to show that he was a professional jester at court.

Heywood has attained some fame, perhaps not according to his merits. A philological dissertation has been written on his *Spider and Fly*.³⁸ Swoboda also has made an elaborate study, philological and metrical, of Heywood's versification, showing his employment of elision, aphaeresis, apocope, syncope, synchysis, synizesis, protraction and alliteration; with the result of showing that Heywood was not original in any of his verse-forms, meter, or poetic line devices, and also that he took great liberties with meter and accent.³⁹

It would not be just perhaps to say that Heywood was a great man, but we have seen at least that he did good service for English drama, that he was an epigrammatist and a poet of repute, that he lived a long life in high places in times when beheading and burning placed longevity among rare things, that he contributed to the culture of his glorious century, and has helped us to know it. His name may not seem so illustrious when compared with others of his order, but his rightful place is due him among court poets and

³⁸ Joseph Unna, *Die Sprache John Heywoods in seinem Gedichte, The Spider and the Flie*; the results of which are here given, in case the reader does not wish to refer to the work itself:

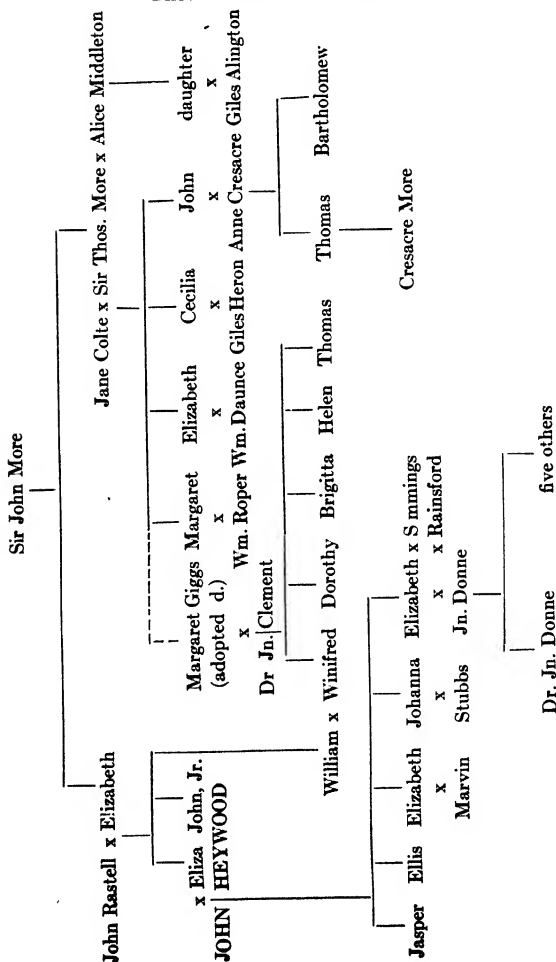
1. Heywood's rime is absolutely pure
2. Differences between the rime and its writing are chiefly to note that
 - (a) *e*, *eo* + *r* rimes always with a certain *a* sound, only seldom written *e*.
 - (b) *giefan* rimes with *i*, and in the middle of a line is frequently written *geue*.
 - (c) *ēage* rimes with *i*, and appears in writing as *iye* and *eie*.
3. The two *r*-modifications which orthographists first noticed in the 18th cent. are already observed by Heywood.
4. The palatization of words like *condition*, *discretion*, etc., in modern English fashion is already accomplished.

³⁹ Swoboda, *Heywood als Dramatiker*, p. 83 and ff. For observations on Heywood's rime and rhythm, esp. plays, see Bond, *Plays from Italian*, pp. lxxxii-iv.

dramatists such as Edwards, Peele, Lyly, Jonson, and Dryden. Court poetry and drama passed through momentous changes from the first to the last of these, and perhaps we may sometimes see that the glory of final achievement extends back, however faintly, to the initial effort.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX NO. 1 GENEALOGICAL TABLE



APPENDIX NO. 2

British Museum, Additional Manuscript No. 24844, ff. 38v, 39.
Haydon Manor.

Rex omnibus ad quos etc. salutem. Sciatis quod nos de gracia nostra speciali ac in consideracione veri et fidelis servicii quod dilectus et fidelis serviens noster Johannes Heywood nobis ante hac tempora impendit et durante vita sua impendere intendit dedimus et concessimus ac per presentes damus et concedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est prefato Johanni manerium nostrum de Haydon cum pertinenciis in comitatu nostro Essexie necnon omnia terras et tenementa redditus reversiones et servicia ac omnia alia possessiones hereditamenta quecumque eidem manerio quoquomodo pertinentia sive spectantia non excedentia annum valorem septem marcarum. Quod quidem manerium ac cetera premissa cum pertinenciis nuper fuerunt Edwardi nuper ducis Buckinghamie qui de alta prodicione attinctus fuit et que ratione attincture eiusdem nuper ducis ad manus nostris denenerunt habendum et tenendum predictum manerium ac cetera premissa cum pertinenciis prefato Johanni et heredibus masculis de corpore ejusdem Johannis legitime procreatis. Tenendum de nobis et heredibus nostris per duodecimam partem feodi militis. Et insuper de uberiora gratia nostra per presentes damus et concedimus prefato Johanni omnia et omnimoda exitus revenciones redditus et proficua predicti manerii et ceterorum premissorum cum suis pertinenciis a festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno regni nostri terciodecimo hucusque provenientia sive crescencia habendum et percipiendum eadem exitus revenciones redditus et proficua eidem Johanni tam per manus suas proprias quam per manus nuper et nunc vicecomitis et escaetoris nostrorum in comitatu predicto receptorum ballivorum firmariorum tenentium et occupatorum manerii predicti ac ceterorum premissorum cum suis pertinenciis ad usum proprium ipsius Johanni absque compoto seu aliquo alio pro premissis vel aliquo premissorum nobis aut heredibus nostris seu successoribus nostris reddendo (seu) solvendo. Eo quod expressa mencio etc. • 4

APPENDIX NO. 3

John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*: 3 vols. London, 1684, v. II, p. 479.

John In this year, touching matters of History, we read no
Athee great thing worthy of Memory, but onely of two Persons
recanted John Athee, and John Heywood.

anno

1545 The same year also followed the Recantation of John
The re- Heywood; who although he was tached for Treason, for
cantation denying the Kings Supremacy, yet using the clemency of
of John the King, upon his better reformation and amendment,
Heywood made an open and Solemn Recantation in the face of all
the people, abandoning and renouncing the Popes
usurped supremacy, and confessing to the King to be
Chief Supream Head and Govenour of this Church of
England, all forein Authority and Jurisdiction being
excluded. The tenour and effect of whose Recantation
here followeth.

THE RECANTATION OF JOHN HEYWOOD

Anno I am come hither at this time (good people) willing and
1545 of mine own desirous sute, to shew, and declare unto
you briefly; First of all the great and inestimable
clemency and mercifulness of our most sovereign and
redoubted Prince the Kings Majesty, the which his
highness hath most graciously used towards me a wretch,
most justly and worthily condemned to dye for my mani-
fold and outrageous offences, haynously and traiterously
committed against his Majesty and his Laws. For
whereas his Majesties Supremacy hath so often been
opened unto me both by writing and speaking (if I had
Grace, either to open mine eyes to see it, or mine ears to
hear it) to be surely and certainly grounded, and estab-
lished upon the very true Word of God: yet for lack of
Grace I have most wilfully and obstinately suffered my
self to fall to such blindness, that I have not onely

thought that the Bishop of Rome hath been and aught to be taken the chief and Supream Head of the Universal Church of Christ here in earth, but also, like no true Subject, concealed and favoured such as I have known or thought to be of that opinion. For the which most detestable Treasons and untruths, I here most humbly and with all my heart first of all ask of the Kings Majesty forgiveness, and secondarily of the world, beseeching all these that either now do, or hereafter shall hear of these my great transgressions, to take this mine example for an instruction for them to call for grace, that they thereby be staid from falling at any time into such miserable blindness and folly.

Moreover, here afore God and you (good Christian people) I do utterly and with all my heart recant and revoke all mine aforesaid erronious and traitorous opinions. And (as my Conscience now doth force) I protest that even with my heart I firmly think and undoubtedly believe, that the Bishop of Rome neither now hath, nor at any time hath had, or can have by any Law of God or Man, any more Authority, without the precinct of his own Country about him, than any other Bishop hath within his Diocess. Whereby I assuredly take the abolishing of the pretended and usurped Power or Authority of the Bishop of Rome out of this Realm, to be justly and truely by the Law of God. And also I take our Sovereign Lord the Kings Highness to be Supreme Head, immediately next under Christ, of the Church of England and Ireland, and all other his Graces Dominions, both of the Spirituality and Temporalty, And I confess not only that his Majesty is so by the Law of God, but also his Progenitors, Kings of this Realm hath been, and his Highness Heirs and Successors Kings of this Realm shall so be.

Thus have I shewed you my mind as well as I can, but neither so well as I would, nor so fully as I should, namely concerning the multitude of mercy which my most gracious Prince hath shewed toward me, not

onely saving my Body after worthy condemnation to death, as is aforesaid, but also for saving my soul from perishing, if my Body had perished before the recieving of such wholsom Counsel, as I had at his Highness most charitable assignment. And of this Confession declared unto you (I say as for forth as I can) I heartily pray you all to bear me record, and most entirely pray Almighty God for the long and most prosperous estate of our Sovereign Lord the Kings Majesty in all his affairs and proceedings.

By me John Heywood.

Memorandum, quod supra scripta assertia sive Recantatio fuit facta etc publice emissa per prænominatum Johanum Haywood die dominica, sexto viz. die Julii; anno millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo quarto, apud Crucem Paulinam, tempore Concionis ibidem.

APPENDIX NO. 4

WILL OF WILLIAM RASTELL

Bang, *Englische Studien*, v. 38, p. 246.

Extract from Scabinalen Protokollen (magisterial documents) of Antwerp, of year 1564, Sub Halle en Moy, vol. I, fol. 369.

In nomine Dei omnipotentis, Ego, Guilielmus Rastell, Anglus, sanæ et integræ mentis existens, condo, ordino et facio hoc supremum meum testamentum et ultimam voluntatem de omnibus et singulis meis prædio, fundis, possessionibus, redditibus, bonis, pecuniis, debitis et creditis, tam in Anglia quam in Brabantia vel in quocunque alio loco, modo et forma sequentibus; in primis, commendando animam meam Patri, Filio et Spiritui Sancto, beatæ Mariæ virginî, sancto Johanni Evangelistæ et omnibus sanctis Dei, corpus autem meum examine terræ consecratæ sepeliendum, ubi meis hæredis et executoribus infra scriptis, seu eorum alicui, quique pro tempore præsens fuerit, convenientius videbitur; ac facio, constituo, ordino et nomino hæredem meum ex esse universalem Elizeum Heywood, Anglum, nepotem meum, et relinquo præfato Elizeo Heywood hæredi meo, sibi, posteris et hæredibus suis pro sua

quarta parte, ex juris civilis ordinatione, tam totum illum annum redditum meum haereditarium ducentorum et octuaginta florenorum, quem ultimo emi et acquisivi mihi et haeredibus meis de et super civitate Antwerpiae, bonis suis, civiumque et incolarum ejusdem, quam quinquaginta florenos annui redditus partem alterius annui redditus mei haereditarii quingentorum florenorum, quem antea et prius emi et acquisivi mihi et haeredibus meis de et super praefata civitate Antwerpiae; Item volo quod idem Elizeus gaudeat et habeat sibi et haeredibus suis praedium meum in Northmymys, in comitatu Hertsfordie in Anglia, ac omnia et singula mea prata, pascua, pasturas, agros, sylvas, terras, fundos et tenementa cum pertinentiis in Northmymys praedicta, seu in quocunque alio loco in Anglia habendum, possidendum et tenendum eidem Elizeo Heywood et haeredibus suis in perpetuum; Volo etiam quod idem Elizeus Heywood gaudeat et habeat sibi omnia vestimenta mea et apparatus corporis mei, monile meum aureum cum effigie Thomae Mori, parvum meum monile inscriptum cum nomine Jesus, horologium meum deauratum et imaginem meam salutationis beatae Marie virginis ex argento deaurato, et omnes libros meos impressos, exceptis libris de legibus Angliae. Item do et lego Bartholomeo More, Anglo, consanguineo meo, centum et viginti florenos annui redditus, partem dicti annui redditus mei haereditarii quingentorum florenorum, habendum, tenendum et possidendum eidem Bartholomeo sibi et haeredibus suis, sub hiis conditionibus sequentibus, videlicet quod in Anglia non degat, donec Anglia ad ecclesiam et catholicam fidem plene reconciliata fuerit; Item quod ipse vitam probe et honeste degat tam moribus quam doctrina, nec in haereticorum opiniones aliquas declinet; quod si harum conditionum alicui contravenerit, tunc volo dictum Bartholomeum praefatis centum viginti florenis annui redditus privari, atque hos ordino et volo ab exequutoribus meis infrascriptis dari, distribui et erogari eodem modo et forma quibus iidem executores mei infrascripti dabunt, erogabunt, distribuent et disponent infrascriptos trecentos et triginta florenos annui redditus residuos praedicti annui redditus mei haereditarii quingentorum florenorum. Item do et lego Domino Joanni Clemens, Anglo, doctori in medicina, socero meo, annulum meum aureum cum lapide infixio vocato cameto, cum effigie albi capitis virginei; Item do et lego Margaritae Clement, uxori dicti

Johannis, annulum meum aureum cum rubino majori, annulum meum aureum quem dedi uxori meae in sponsalibus et cocleare meum argenteum; Item do et lego domino Thomae Clement, filio dicti Johannis, annulum meum aureum inscriptum cum nomine Jesus; Item do et lego Helenae Clement, filiae dicti Johannis, annulum meum aureum cum turchino; Item do et lego Brigittae Clement, filiae dicti Johannis, minutissimam catenam meum auream, monile meum aureum con effigie Judith, annulum meum aureum cum rubino exiguo et duas cistas meas de arbore cupresso; Item do et lego fratri meo Johanni Rastell, Anglo, annulum meum aureum cum figuris astronomicis; Item do et lego uxori ejusdem Johannis Rastell annulum meum aureum cum adamante albicanti; Item do et lego Johanna Stubbs, sorori dicti Elizei, catenam meam auream majorem, ac annulum meum aureum forma antiquissima cum rubino infixo; Item do et lego Elizabethae Marvin, alii sorori dicti Elizei, annulum meum aureum cum effigie capitis mortui, inscriptum interius cum hiis litteris W. H. Item do et lego Elizabethae Donne, alii sorori dicti Elizei, annulum meum aureum cum saphiro; Item do et lego domino Willielmo Rooper, Anglo, annulum meum aureum cum effigie capitis mortui cum nomine gressam; Item do et lego Domino Johanni Heywood, patri dicti Elizei, annulum meum aureum cum effigie capitis mortui cum nomine bonvisi; Item do et lego domino Germino Crol, Anglo, annulum meum aureum, inscriptum interius cum his litteris T. A. Item do et lego domino Thomae Wotton, Anglo, annulum meum aureum cum hac inscriptione: Les est arma Regum; Item do et lego Bartholomeo More praedicto annulum meum aureum minorem cum hac inscriptione: Lex Regum Lux; Item do et lego Johanni de Rine annulum meum aureum majorem ejusdem inscriptionis; Item do et lego Georgio Ffisher, Anglo, annulum meum aureum cum lapide rubro, reliquos autem trecentos et triginta florenos annui redditus residuos praedicti annui redditus mei haereditarii quingentorum florenorum, quem prius emi et acquisivi mihi et haeredibus meis de et super praedicta civitate Antwerpiae, ac reliqua omnia bona, pecunias, debita et credita mea nemini superius relicta, data nec legate, volo et ordino distribuere, erogari et disponi per tres exequutores meos inferius nominatos vel superviventem eorum secundum animi mei voluntatem et desiderium, prout illis plenius declaraturus sum in scripto

anglicano super hac re propria mea manu conscripto; et facio, ordino et constituo exequutores istius mei testamenti praefatos Elizeum Heywood, Johannem Clement et Margaretam Clement, et do et lego cuilibet praedictorum Elizei, Johannis Clement et Margaretae ob laborem exequutionis hujus mei testamenti florenos quinquaginta; et si praefati Elizeus Heywood, Johannes Clement et Margareta obierint antequam ipsi seu eorum aliquis in parte vel in toto dederint, erogaverint, distribuerint seu disposuerint praedictos trecentos et triginta florenos annui redditus et bona, pecunias, debita et credita praedicta nemini superius relictas, data nec legata, tunc volo et ordino eosdem trecentos et triginta florenos annui redditus et bona, pecunias, debita et credita illa, vel quod ex iisdem remanserit, dari, distribui, erogari et disponi per abbatissam et conventum monasterii monialium Anglarum de Sion, in Anglia modo residentium in Zelandia,¹ modo et forma prout dicti mei tres exequutores eadem dare, erogare, distribuere et disponere debuissent; et si contigerit conventum illum dissolvi vel extingui, aut aliqua ratione seu causa, hujus exequutionis capacem non esse antequam dicta abbatissa et conventus in parte vel in toto dederint, erogaverint, disposuerint seu distribuerint, praedictos trecentos et triginta florenos annui redditus et bona, pecunias, debita et credita praedicta, nemini superius relictas, data nec legata, tunc volo et ordino post mortem praedictorum Elizei, Johannis Clement et Margaretae eosdem trescentos et triginta florenos annui redditus et bona, pecunias, debita et credita illa, vel quod ex eisdem remanserit, dari, distribui, erogari et disponi per priorissas seu matres et conventus monasteriorum Sanctae Ursulae et Sanctae Clarae in Lovanio, modo et forma prout dicti mei tres executores eadem dare, erogare, distribuere et disponere debuissent. Et quicumque ex hiis

¹Machyn's *Diary*, p. 145:

"The first day of August (1557) was the nones of Syon was closyd in by my lord bysshope of London and my lord abbott of Westmynster, and serten of the consell, and serten frers of that order, of shepe coler as the shepe bereth; and they had as grett a charge of ther leyfvyng, and never to goo forth as longe as they do lyffe, but ever . . ."

Also, p. 204

"The iiij day of July (1559) the Thursday, the prests and nuns of Syon whent a-way, and the Charterhowse".

•Consult Bang's notes, *Eng. Studien*, band 38, pp. 246-7.

dictis conventibus hanc meam dispositionem executus fuerit, lego eidem seu eisdem, ob laborem dictae executionis centum florenos, deinceps hoc ultimo testamento meo omnes meos legitimos haeredes excludo, ne aliquid tituli aut juris in meis predio, fundis, pratis, pascuis, pasturis, agris, sylvis, terris, tenementis, redditibus, bonis, pecuniis, debitis et creditis praetendant nisi quatenus ex hoc testamento eisdem vel eorum seu earum alicui competere et pertinere apparet, non obstantibus consuetudinibus et ordinationibus huic meae dispositioni testamentarie, refragantibus, quae omnia et singula derogata volo; atque in hunc modum condidi hoc meum supremum testamentum, hocque propria mea manu scripsi, subscripsi et sigillo meo munivi, datum Antwerpiae, octavo die mensis Augusti anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo quarto. Subscriptum per me Guilielmum Rastell. Item ego, Johannes ab Halle, opidi Antverpiae a Secretis, rogatus, huic testamento subscripsi et signavi die quo supra et signatum J. van Halle, et munitum dicto sigillo. Sic in dorso scriptum: Notum sit omnibus et singulis, quod hodierna die datae praesentium, coram nobis pro tribunali sedentibus, personaliter comparuit Dominus et Magister Guilielmus Rastell, Anglus, nobis satis cognitus, benevalens animo et corpore, manu tenens, nobisque offerens et exhibens praesentem hanc membranam manu propria (ut asserebat) intus scriptam, consuetoque suo sigillo et chyrographis tam suo quam secretarii nostri scripti munitam et preterea aliud simile instrumentum in eadem forma similiter clausum et munitum uniusque et ejusdem tenoris et scripturae, exponens nobis in utroque et unoquoque eorum contineri legitimum suum testamentum, ultimam et extremam voluntatem haeredisque nominationem, desiderans et expresse jubens ut plenum testamenti sui et ultimae voluntatis effectum sortiatur, et post mortem suam pro tali tam per suum haeredem quam suos executores, omnesque alios quorum interest aut interesse poterit, omnino observetur, revocando, annihilando et irrita faciendo omnia et quaecunque alia sua testamentum seu testamenta, quae aut in Anglia sive in quacunque alia regione et loco ante hac unquam condidit sive confecit et quod istud solum (ut supra) locum habeat et observetur, etiam si forte non jure testamenti saltem codicilli, donationis causa mortis inter vivos sive quacunque alia institutionis sive donationis et dispositionis forma meliori qua aliquod testa-

mentum sive extrema voluntas quoquo modo valere, observare et exequi potest et debet, secundum jura tam ecclesiastica quam civilia; etiam consuetudines hujus opidi quam aliorum locorum ubi ipsi testatori diem claudere continget. In cujus rei testimonium et fidem Nos, Johannes a Schoonhoven et Johannes a Wervia, Equites, Jacobus Houtappel, Henricus van Etten, Martinus van Raust, et Johannes ab Malmale et Johannes a Mera, scabini opidi Antverpiae, inter caeteros collegas huic actui praesentes, sigilla nostra his (suo prius sigillo et chyrographo confirmatis) apponi curavimus die octava Augusti anno Domini M. D. sexagesimo quarto. Subscriptum: per me Guilielmum Rastell, et signatum J. van Halle, et munitum sigillis praefatorum Domini Guilielmi Rastell et Scabinorum. Preterea in dorso scriptum: Die tertia Septembris anno XVCLXV comparuerant coram Dominis Burgmagistris et Scabinis opidi Antverpiae pro tribunali in Collegio sedentibus Domini Johannes Clemens, medicinae Doctor, et Helizeus Hewod, Angli, exhibentes binas tabulas testamentarias quondam Domini Guilielmi Rastell, etiam Angli, jamdudum (uti declarabant) Lovanii defuncti, clausas septem sigillis scabinorum hujus opidi et signeto ejusdem Rastelli, suaeque syngrapha confirmatas, nec non consueta signatura mei secretarii infrascripti, a nobis recensendas, quarum alterum exemplar penes defunctum repertum, alterum vero praefato Clementi commissum, accepimus, quae quidem sigilla et secretarii nostri signaturam a nobis visa et perlustrata, Lovanii vera coram amicis suis, ipso die exequiarum aperienda; recognoscimus. In cujus rei testimonium per eundem nostrum Secretarium hac sua signatura consueta signari et confirmari jussimus die, anno et loco quibus supra et signatum J. van Halle. Istud testamentum Lovanii (ut asserebam) apertum fuit, hic ad requisitionem praefati haeredis in registro ad perpetuam rei memoriam positum. Die V^a Octobris 1565, et concordat per omnia, collatum per me J. van Halle.

APPENDIX NO. 5

Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis Tomus Primus Joannis Pitsei, Paris, 1619, p. 753

"De Ioanne Heyuodo.

Ioannes Hayuodus, Londini in Anglia natus, Thomae Moro multis annis familiarissimus. Vir pius, vtcumque doctus, valde ingeniosus, Musices tam vocalis, quam instrumentalis peritus, elegans in Poesi, & plus quam credi potest, in familiari colloquio lepidus atque facetus. In salibus mirè acutus, in dicterijs nonnihil aliquando mordax. De quo inter alia memorabile illud traditur, quod lethali morbo laborans, cùm sua peccata praeterita multum deploraret, & bonus quidam Sacerdos, qui consolandi causa illi adfuit, illud solum responderet, & identidem repeteret, carnem esse fragilem. Retulit ille: nae tu Deum arguere videris, quod me non fecerit piscem. Liberos suos in timore Dei sollicitè educauit, & in bonis litteris atque in fide Catholica optimè institui fecit. Duos filios habuit Societatis Jesu presbyteros, ex quibus alterum nomine Gasparum Romae primùm, diendè Neapoli familiariter noui. Porro ipse Ioannes propter auitae religionis professionem exilium & incommoda multa pertulit. Mecliniae diu vixisse dicitur, & haud scio, an vnquam postea in patriam reuersus. Non pauca tradidit posteris litteraria monimenta, non tam labore condita, quam lepore condita, & natiuo quodam quasi pipere, & ingenioso sale respersa. Quorum titulos hos sequentes saltem inuenio.

Epigrammata prouerbialia,	Librum vnum
Trecentorum aliorum epigrammatum	Libros duos
De quadruplici (P)	Librum vnum
De aura comediam	
De amore tragoediam	
De aranea & musca versu Anglico	Librum vnum

Extat Londini anno Domini 1576. (56?) Vidi in bibliotheca Benedictinorum Anglorum Delovvariae in Lotharingia.

Rithmos alios Anglicos Librum vnum

Et alia his similia non pauca. Senex Londini vixisse dicitur anno Dominicae incarnationis 1556, dum in Anglicani regni solio sederet Philippus cum Maria.

APPENDIX NO. 6

A LIST OF PAGEANTS, MASKS, AND OTHER REVELS

From Letters and Papers of Henry VIII

- 1510 "Revels," Robin Hood, at Westminster, Jan. 18, for the queen, in which Henry took part. *Brewer*, II, 1490 ff.
 "Disguising" at Westminster, Feb. 1, in parliament chamber. Among properties: javelins, targets, Turkey knives, hair laces for ladies, arrows of gold. *Ibid.*
 King "runs at the ring" and gives largess to foreign visitors who were spectators. Mar. 17. *Ibid.*
 "Revel" at Richmond, Nov. 8. Arranged by Richard Gibson and Harry Wentworth. *Ibid.*
- 1511 "Revel" in the queen's chamber, Jan. 6. "A hill summit, thereon a golden stock branched with roses and pomegranates crowned, out of which hill issued a Morryke danced by the king's young gentlemen, as hynsmen, and thereto a lady." Also a fool with a turned ladle. *Ibid.*
 "Joust of honor" at Westminster, Feb. 12 & 13. An artificial forest of hawthorns, oaks, maples, etc., a castle, a maiden sitting therein, a lion and an antelope, each bearing a maiden. *Ibid.*
 "Pageant" at Westminster, night of Feb. 13, "The Golden Arbor in the Archyard of Pleasure." Children of the Chapel present, also Sub-Dean, Cornish, Crane. *Ibid.*
 Christmas "pageant," "Dangerous Fortress," equipped with towers, cannon and arms, iron work, donjon. Six ladies therein; seven Gentlemen of the Chapel present, also Sub-Dean, Cornish, Crane. *Ibid.*
- 1512 "Joust" and "Pageant," June 1. Among other expenses is charge for $\frac{1}{2}$ bushel wheat flour, for paste covering over "gargells faces and small serpents that garnschyd founten." *Ibid.*
- 1513 "Pageant" at Greenwich, Jan. 6. "The Rich Mount," a rock of gold and precious stones, planted with broom to signify

Plantagenet, also red and white roses, a burning beacon on top; six lords, six minstrels, two armed men, all drawn by "two myghty woordwossys or wyld men." After the lords descend, the mount opens, six ladies appear, dressed in gold and rich clothes. *Ibid.*

- 1514 Jan. 6. A Christmas "interlude" and "disguising"; a Moresque of six persons, and two ladies. Perhaps a Mask also, for elaborate properties are mentioned for "Venus" and "Beauty." Total for pageant and workers, paid Mar. 15, 404*li.* 6*s.* 9*d.* I, 718.

Christmas Revel, of "four mummers," four ladies, four minstrels, and participated in by Henry, Suffolk, Carew, Gyllforth. II, 1490 ff.

Pageant (?) and joust (?), at Tournay, June 15. Property-charges for gunners, guns, powder and shot. "Payntors drawing the towne of Bullon and grownde about the same," etc. II, 1511

- 1515 Jan. 6, "Pavyllon un the Plas Parlos" Pageant; four towers, bushes of roses at tops, armed knights on guard, speeches, armed knights fight, separation, knights rescue other knights and ladies in castle; garments kept by persons disguised; gentlemen and children of the Chapel present. II, 1490 ff.
 "Joust of Honor" at Greenwich, Feb. 3. *Ibid.*
 "Joust of Pleasure" at Richmond, Apr. 19. *Ibid.*
 Pageant, "Pallys Marchallyn," ten towers; money for this paid May 9. *Ibid.*

"Pageant" of Robin Hood, and "Joust," at Greenwich, May festival. Equipment and clothing for Robin Hood, Maid Marion, Lady May, Friar Tuck, Little John. "Personages in the May." 125 yeomen, 11 ladies, and children of the Chapel. II, 1504 ff.

- 1516 "Play" and "disguising," Jan 6, at Eltham. Cornish and children of Chapel present "the story of Troylous and Pandor richly inparalled, also Kallkas and Kryssyd inparyllled like a widow of honor, in black sarsenet and other habiliments for such matter, Dyomed and the Greeks inparyllled like men

of war, according to the intent or purpose." After the comedy, a castle of timber in the King's hall; three strange knights did battle with those of the castle, out of which issued three men at arms with spears, to do feats "at the barriers" against three strange men, exchange thrusts, then fight 12 strokes with naked swords, then away; Queen comes out of castle with 6 ladies, speeches made, written by Cornish; 7 minstrels on walls of castle sing; then 6 lords and 6 ladies issue from castle, dance? II, 1505-6

Jan. 29, King holds "running at the ring," at Greenwich.

Feb. 5, King holds "running at the ring," at Greenwich.

May 20, "Jousts of Honor" at Greenwich, also on May 21.

II, 1507-8

- 1517 "Pageant" at Greenwich, Jan. 6. "The Gardyn de Esperans," garden railed with banks of artificial flowers, pillar of sinaper decorated with gold, as were railings; Cornish makes speech, showing intent of revels, 2 children with him. In garden, 6 knights and ladies walking. "The pageant was brought toward the hall with noise of minstrels, which ended, it retreated and the personages descended and danced before the king, the queen, and the court." II, 1509

"Joust" at Greenwich, July 7.

II, 1510

- 1518 "Tourneyes" and "Jousts" at Greenwich, Oct. 7 (?); King, Queen, French Queen, Princess, the two Legates, French, Spanish and Venetian ambassadors, and nobles of the realm present. II, 1516

- 1519 "Maskalyne" after the manner of Italy, Mar. 7, 46 persons, hoods, masks, petticoats, hoops, etc. Next day jousts.

III, 34

- 1520 To the Children of the Chapel for singing *Audivi* on All-hallows Day, 20s. Pd. Nov. 12.

III, 1543

- 1521 Reward to the King's Players, 66s. 8d. Jan. 12; "To his old players, 4*li*."

Ibid.

- 1522 Pageants (11) given by London when Emperor Charles visited Henry VIII.

Chambers, II, 171

Pageant of the Golden Fleece, by London Drapers, in Lord Mayor's procession, etc. *Chambers*, II, 165

- 1524 Pageant (?) and "Jousts" at Greenwich, Dec. 29. King authorizes building of a castle and mountain in yard; unicorn, shields, banners, "iiij pessys of clothe payntyng of Antyuke, wherewith the kastell was enornyd," bell for castle tower, silver damask for "heeres and berds," 2 ladies' dresses of strange fashion, hire of 2 women's hair; 4 gentlemen of Chapel present. *Brewer*, IV, 418
 "Meskeler" at Greenwich, Christmastide; costs 12*li.* 4*s.* 11½*d.* *Ibid.*

- 1527 "Play," "Revel," "Jousts," and "Triumph," at Greenwich, May 6. "The Kyngis plesyr was that at the said revells by clarks in the Latyn tonge (Rastell's, below?) should be playd in hys hy presence a play whereof insuythe the namys:" Orator, Religion, Ecclesia, Veritas, Heresy, False Interpretacion, Corruptio Scriptoris, the herrytyke Lewtar, Luther's wife, Peter, Paul, James, a cardinal, 2 sergeants, "The Dolfyn" and his brother, 3 Almayns, Lady Peace, Lady Quietness, Dame Tranquility. *IV*, 1605.

"Mr. Ryghtwos, master of St. Paul's School, asks to be allowed for doublets, hose, and shoes for the children who were poor men's sons, and for fire in times of learning the play 45*s.*" *Ibid.*

For the king's use at the triumph, 24 barbs, new buckles, tails of Hungary leather; 8 gowns of cloth of tissue and tinsel for Princess and ladies. Jousts also at this revel. *IV*, 1392

"The Great Pageant" at Greenwich, Gibson's accts. dated May 9; charges for ports, towers, cutting stairs, levelling and hylling the roof, making rock, staining 600 yards cloth, making flowers, beasts, etc. *Ibid.*

- "In 1527 Rastell seems to have provided for the court a pageant of 'The Father of Hevin' in which a dialogue, both in English and Latin, of riches and love, written by John Redman, and also a "barriers" were introduced."

Chambers, II, 201

Pageant (?) "A Place of Pleasure," Nov. 10; an arbor in the reveling chamber within the tilt-yard at Greenwich, 2 arches, portal, fountain, pipes for conduit, 8 long canes to put out the lights, dancing lights, coal and fagots for heating, etc.

Brewer, IV, 1604

- 1533 Pageants and Procession for Queen Anne Boleyn; both on barges on Thames, and in London streets. Pageants; great red dragon; a mountain with devices of falcon, red and white roses; etc.

Chambers, II, 171

- 1536 "Plan of a Pageant" for Jane Seymour? June 4? Figures: Father of Heaven, Conception of Our Lady, with sun, moon, day-star, gates of heaven, well of life, story of Adam and Eve, cages with quick birds to be set in a meadow, "fourteen other subtilties at the pleasure of the maker." *Brewer*, X, 421.

- 1537 Payments made in Cromwell's Accounts; Dec. 27, Lord Chancellor's players 20*s.*, Lord Marquis of Exeter's players 15*s.*, 28th, Mr. Bryan's minstrels 15*s.*

Payment made Feb. 19, "for my Lord's part of the mask 20 marks."

XIV, 329 ff.

- 1538 Cromwell's Accounts; Jan. 13, to Children of the Chapel, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Jan. 20, to Lord Warden's players 20*s.*

Jan. 22, to Duke of Suffolk's players 20*s.*, to Lord Chancellor's players 10*s.*

Feb. 2, to Woodall, the schoolmaster of Eton, for playing before my Lord 5*li.*

Feb. 4, to Lord Cobham's players 20*s.*

Mar. 4, to Robyn Drowme and his fellows for their waiting two nights the same time my Lord made the King a mask 20*s.* Charges of the mask 25*li.* 11*s.* 5*d.*

Apr. 12, to Mr. Hopton's priest, for playing before my Lord with his children, 22*s.* 6*d.*

June 30, to the King's minstrels, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Dec. 29, The waits of London 20*s.*

174 THE LIFE AND WORKS OF JOHN HEYWOOD

1539 Jan. 7, to Robyn Drome and his fellow 15s.

Jan. 25, to Christopher, the mylyoner, for the charges of the mask 10*li*.

Jan. 31, to Bale and his fellows for playing before my Lord 30s.

Feb. 11, 12, 17, 22, payments made for John Heywood's mask of Arthur's Knights. XIV, 317 ff.

To Children of the Chapel for singing *Audivi vocem* on All-hallows 20s. *Ibid.*

Letter to Cromwell from Sir Francis Bryan, Sept. 14: "Last night he (Henry) had as fair a mask and was as merry as he has been this good while." XIV, 52

1540 King gives order for apparel for a play to be done by the Children of the Chapel, New Year's day at Greenwich.

XIV, 284

Scottish Interludes. Sir Wm. Eure writes to Cromwell from Berwick castle, Jan 26, 1540: he asks how the King and Council of Scotland were inclined towards the Bishop of Rome or a reformation of the spirituality, is told James himself and all his council were much given to the reformation of clergy—so much so that they had an interlude played last Epiphany before the king and queen at Linlithgow, all turning upon the naughtiness of religion, the presumption of bishops, the collusion of the spiritual courts, and misusing of priests. Eure sends a note of the play made by a "Scotsman of our sort" who witnessed it. XV, 36

Christmas Revels. Marillac writes to Francis I, Dec. 31, 1540, "No other news these holidays but of mummeries and rejoicing." XVI, 170

1544 Revels at Hampton Court; bill of charges, also goods transferred from Winchester, "white cotton for rolls to Turks heads." Dated Apr. 21. XIX, 244

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INDEX

- Acolastus*, 121
 Act of Supremacy, 28, 40, 143
 Actors, 12, 47, 49, 50, 51, 80, 120
Age and Youth, 100
 Alington, Giles, 23, 24
All for Money, Lupton, 90
 Alde, John, 102
 Andrewe, Leonard, 20
Arte of English Poesie, 10, 43
Arte of Rhetorique, 67, 75
Arthur's Knights, Mask of, Heywood,
 31, 32, 120, 174
 Aske, Robert, 30, 144

 Baldwin, Wm., 45, 100
 Bale, John, 4, 9, 17, 31, 57, 80, 93,
 103, 121, 133, 134
 Barclay, Alexander, 23, 84, 109,
 122, 132, 146
 Barriers, 85, 171, 172
 Bastard, Thos., 77
Be merry, friends, Heywood lyric,
 128
 Berthelet, T., 130
Blason, 86
 Boccaccio, 89
 Boleyn, Anne, 15, 26, 27, 30, 54,
 88, 90, 143, 173
 Bolmer manor, 61
 Boniface IX, Pope, 106
 Bonvisi, Ant., 64
 Brant, Sebastian, 109
 Bridgewater, John, 73
 Broadgates, see Pembroke College
 Broke Hall, 33
 Buckingham, Edward duke of, 11,
 159
 Bulmer, John, see Bolmer manor
 Burghley, Lord, 4, 67, 69, 70

Calisto and Melibæa, 81, 116
 Camden, Wm., 58
 Catherine of Aragon, 15, 26, 146
 Cavendish, George, 23
Celestina, 116
Century of Epigrams, 78
 Chapel Royal choir, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12,
 46-48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 107,
 169ff.
 Chaucer, 19, 56, 80, 93, 94, 104,
 105, 107, 109, 110, 111, 117, 152,
 153
 Children, boy actors, etc., 12, 31,
 46-55, 119, 120 (see also Chapel
 Royal, St Paul's, Wolsey)
Chrestoleros, 77
 Clement, Dr. John, 24, 37, 158,
 163, 165, 167
 Clement, Winifred (Rastell), 64, 158
Clercs de la Basoche, 118
Clerico et Puella, de, 101
 Colet, John, 48, 49
 Colte, Jane, 24, 158
Colyn Clout, see Skelton
Compleat Gentleman, Peacham, 3
Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae, 73, 74
 Copland, 102
 Cornish, Wm., 5, 21, 47, 51, 94,
 103, 105, 107, 110, 114, 117,
 169ff.
 Courtly love, 88-89, 90, 132
 Cranmer, Archbishop, 1, 26, 27,
 35, 36, 37, 41, 57, 68, 127, 143, 145
 Cresacre, Anne (More), 23, 158

- Cromwell, Thos., 20, 31, 32, 33,
173, 174
- Dame Sirith*, 101
- Davies, Sir John, 76, 77
- Death and Youth*, 100
- Débat*, 81, 84, 85, 88, 89, 90, 93, 94,
99, 100, 111, 119, 121, 132, 152
- Discourse of English Poetrie*, 75
- Disputation, 80, 81, 82, 85, 86, 87,
88, 94, 95, 97, 99, 100, 112, 152
- Donne, Dean John, 1, 25, 26, 33,
34, 66, 158
- Droeshout, Father, 4, 67, 71, 73
- Dyalogue du fol et du sage*, 84
- Edward VI, 1, 3, 14, 18, 25, 34,
44, 45, 47, 49, 54, 55, 116
- Edwards, Richard, 65, 75, 117, 156
- Elizabeth, 1, 16, 17, 26, 27, 34, 44,
49, 53, 54, 62, 67
- Elliott, Sir Thos., 29
- Enfants sans souci*, 118
- Epigrams*, Heywood, 3, 7, 19, 43,
57, 58, 63, 74, 75, 77, 78, 103,
133, 134-136
- Epigrams upon Proverbs*, Heywood,
58, 63, 130, 133-134
- Erasmus, 48, 49, 60, 84, 135
- Estrif*, 81
- Eton, 48, 49
- Euphues*, see *Lyly*
- Everyman*, 80
- Fabliau*, 87, 88, 90, 102, 111, 112,
114, 117, 118, 119, 120
- Farce, 80, 81, 82, 90, 95, 100, 101,
103, 104, 108, 110, 111, 112, 117,
118, 119, 120, 122
- Farce nouvelle d'un Pardonneur, d'un
Triacleur, et d'une Tavernière*, 103
- Farthing, Thos., 10
- Feast of Fools, 111
- Fortescue, Sir Adrian, 2
- Four Elements, Interlude of the*, 20
- Four P's*, Heywood, 12, 22, 57,
58, 81, 94, 101-105, 108, 109,
111, 116
- Foxe, John, 35, 40, 160ff.
- French drama, 80, 81, 84, 103, 104,
108, 110, 111, 114, 115, 118, 119
- Fryth, John, 20
- Gammer Gurton's Needle*, 119
- Garçon et l'Aveugle, Le*, 101
- Gardiner, Germain, 36, 38, 39
- Gardiner, Stephen, 35, 36, 38, 57
- Gentleness and Nobility*, Heywood,
20, 81, 82, 90-95, 96, 97, 98, 99,
136, 152
- Ghent, Pacification of, 72
- Giggs, Margaret (Clement), 29,
37, 64, 158, 163, 165
- God and Man*, 100
- Googe, Barnaby, 75, 76
- Grace of God*, Heywood's poem, 126
- Grafton, Richard, 61, 76
- Graphie*, 86, 87, 88, 90, 124
- Green Willow, A Ballad of the*, Hey-
wood, 127
- Greene, Robert, 122
- Grimald, Nicholas, 117
- Griselda*, 117
- Hall, *Chronicle*, 14, 54
- Harington, Sir John, 10, 40, 66,
76, 77
- Harpesfield, Dr., 54
- Harvey, Gabriel, 19, 76
- Haydon manor, 11, 159
- Heath, *Epigrams*, 78
- Henry VIII, 1, 2, 3, 5, 9, 10, 11,
14, 20, 26, 27, 28, 34, 36, 47,
49, 88, 95, 143, 169ff.

- Heywood, Elizabeth (Donne), 29, 33, 64, 65, 66, 70, 158, 164
- Heywood, Elizabeth (Marvin), 29, 30, 158, 164
- Heywood, Ellis, 3, 4, 19, 23, 25, 26, 57, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 135, 158, 162ff.
- Heywood, Jasper, 29, 34, 44, 57, 65, 66, 69, 158
- Heywood, Johanna (Stubbs), 29, 30, 158, 164
- Heywood, John (father?), 2
- Heywood, John; chronological table, xiff.; parents, 2; birthplace, 3; birth, 4; at court, 5; university, 6; musician, 8-17; singer, 9; actor, 9, 54; royal favors, 10ff.; land grants and property, 10, 11, 32, 33, 34, 42, 56, 61, 66, 69, 70; player on virginals, 12, 13, 16, 17, 42; friendship with Mary, 15, 28, 30, 31, 58, 59, 61; steward, 18, 42, 44, 56, 61; marriage, 19; More and Rastells, 20-25; plays published, 27; acts plays with children, 31, 44, 45ff.; mask at court, 31, 32; against Cranmer, 35-41; anecdotes, 43-44, 58-59; dramatic director of boys, 46-55; leaves England, 63-64; exile, 64ff.; riots, 71ff.; death, 73; contribution to drama, 122; writings, see individual titles.
- Heywood, William (father?), 2
- Hickscorner*, 121
- Historia Histrionica*, 112
- Hitchen, 49
- Hū Nayle o' th' Head*, 121
- Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 148
- Holinshed, 54, 76, 99, 137
- Idleness*, Heywood's poem, 126
- Impatient Poverty*, 121
- Impressa, 59
- Innocent, Pope, 106
- Interlude, 80, 95, 101, 105, 108, 118, 119, 120, 122, 169ff.
- Ireland, State of*, Baldwin, 45
- Jack Juggler*, 119, 121
- James I, 54
- Jeu-parti*, -parture, *joc-partit*, 81, 111
- John, Tib, and Sir John*, 12, 22, 27, 81, 103, 104, 107, 108, 109, 110, 112-115, 117
- Jones, Inigo, 79
- Jonson, Ben, 58, 59, 79, 156
- Jousts, 2, 169ff.
- Juan, Don, 72
- Julius, Pope, 106, 110
- Kemp, Margery, 23
- Ket's Rebellion, 144
- King Johan*, Bale, 121
- King's Players, 47, 49, 51
- Kite, John, 12, 47
- Kyrbybellers Priory, 42
- Kytson, Ant., 95
- Leo X, Pope, 9, 105, 106, 110, 111
- Leviathan*, Hobbes, 148
- Lily, Wm., 48, 49
- Linacre, Thos., 48
- Long have I been a singing man*, Heywood's poem, 8, 17, 125, 127, 130
- Love, Play of*, Heywood, 27, 57, 58, 81, 85-90, 94, 95, 99, 107, 108, 119, 124
- Love song*, Heywood's, 128
- Love and Life*, 100
- Lucian, *Icaro-Menippus*, 98
- Lucretia*, 20

- Lupton, Thos, 90
 Lyly, John, 89, 134, 156
 Lyndsay, David, 111

 Mackarll, D., 144
 Macro plays, 80
Magnificence, Skelton, 80, 121
Malice, Heywood's poem, 127
Marriage of Philip and Mary, Heywood's poem, 56, 128-129
 Martial d'Auvergne, 88
 Mary, 1, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 49, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 110, 116, 124, 125, 128, 129, 142, 143, 144, 147
 Mary, Heywood's poem to, 28, 124-125
Man, for thine ill life, Heywood's poem, 126
 Masks, 2, 9, 31, 32, 45, 47, 90, 120, 123, 169ff.
 Mathias, 72
 Maxey manor, 10, 11, 13
 Medwall, *Nature*, 22, 121
Meliboeus, 117
 Melton, Nicholas, 144
Menaechmi, 48, 121
 Mercurian, Father, 71
 Meres, Francis, 77
Metamorphosis of Ajax, 76
 Middleton, Alice, 23, 24, 158
 Middleton, Wm., 101, 103
 Minstrels, 118, 119
 Minut, Gabriel de, 87, 124
 Miracle plays, 80, 81, 90, 101
Misogonus, 114
 Misrule, Lord of, 65
 Morality plays, 80, 81, 88, 95, 100, 101, 119, 121, 122
 Mort, Elizabeth (Rastell), 19, 23, 158
 More, Margaret (Roper), 24, 29, 158
 More, Sir Thomas, 1, 3, 4, 8, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 37, 57, 60, 64, 73, 78, 84, 95, 105, 120, 135, 143, 148, 158, 163
More, Play of Sir Thomas, 104, 121
 Morris dances, 80
 Mulcaster, 54
Mundus et Infans, 121
 Mylton monastery, 42
 Mystery plays, 80, 96

Nature, 121
Nature of the Four Elements, 100, 121
 Newark, Wm., 51
 Newton, Thos., 74
Nice Wanton, 119
 Northumberland, Duke of, 43, 145

Old Custom, 121
 Orange, Duke of, 72
Orlando Furioso, 77

Palamon and Arcite, 117
Palladis Tamia, 77
Paradise of Dainty Devices, 65
Pardoner and Friar, 9, 27, 81, 94, 103, 104, 105-112, 114, 115, 117
 Parr, Catherine, 49
 Paulett, Wm. Marquis of Winchester, 43, 132
 Peacham, Henry, 3
 Peasants' Revolt, 147
 Peele, George, 156
 Pembroke College (Broadgates), 6, 7
Pernet qui va au vin, 114-115
 Philip II of Spain, 54, 56, 128, 129, 142
Phormio, 121
Piers Plowman, 91, 109
 Pilgrimage of Grace, 80, 143, 144
 Pitts, John (Pitseus), 4, 17, 73, 103, 121, 154, 168

- Plautus, 22, 48
 Pole, Cardinal Reginald, 57, 65, 129, 146
 Pope, Sir Thos., 29
 Powell, Thos., 57, 129, 136
Pride and Lowliness, 100
 Provençal, 81, 88, 89
Proverbs Concerning Marriage, Heywood, 43, 60, 75, 89, 99, 103, 130-133
 Puttenham, 56
Pys, 118
 Queen's men, players, 49
 Radcliff, Ralph, 117
 Rainsforth (Rainsford), Richard, 33, 158
 Rastell, Eliza (Heywood), 3, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26, 64, 70, 158
 Rastell, John, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 85, 90, 93, 95, 116, 120, 158, 172
 Rastell, Wm., 3, 23, 25, 27, 29, 64, 66, 71, 85, 90, 95, 104, 105, 107, 108, 112, 158, 162ff.
Ralph Roister Doister, 60, 119, 121
 Redford, John, 51, 53, 54, 121, 125
Respublica, 60, 121
Riches and Love, 85, 94, 100, 121
Riches and Youth, 85, 94, 100, 121
 Richmond, Henry duke of, 11, 20
 Richmond, Margaret countess of, 11
 Rightwise, John, 49, 172
Robin Conscience, 100
 Robin Hood, 80, 122, 170
 Romney marsh, 69
 Roper, Wm., 22, 24, 29, 37, 158
 Sanders (Sanderus), Nicholas, 29, 67
 St. Paul's choir boys, 5, 12, 16, 17, 44, 46, 48, 49, 51, 52, 55, 62
 St. Paul's deanery and cathedral, 33, 54, 55
 St. Paul's grammar school, 48, 49, 54, 55, 172
 St. Peter's, Woodstreet, 34
 St. Osith's, 32, 42
Scarborough castle, Heywood's ballad, 129-130
 Scarborough warning, 129-130
 Seneca, 65
 Seymour, Jane, 116, 173
Sermon joyeux, 111, 119
Ship of Fools, see Barclay
 Six Articles, 35, 40
 Skelton, John, 20, 22, 80, 86, 95, 104, 109, 121
Slander and Detraction, Heywood's ballad, 126-127
 Smith, Walter, 24
Sociétés joyeuses, 118
 Somer, Will, 34, 35, 82, 83, 84, 154
Sottie, 103, 111, 115, 117
Spider and Fly, Heywood, 56, 60, 81, 92, 93, 94, 98, 99, 110, 123, 130, 136-153, 155
 Stafford, Thos., 129
 Sternhold, *Psalms*, 3
 Stow, *Annals*, 55, 76
 Strype, John, 35, 36
 Surrey, Earl of, 2, 75, 124
 Sword dances, 80
 Symmings, 33, 158
 Tençon, 81, 89
Tenne Tragedies of Seneca, 65
 Textor, Ravisius, 115, 116
Thalia's Banquet, Peacham, 3
 Theocritus, 81
Thersites, 81, 115-116, 119
 Thynne, 100
 Tindale, Bishop, 95, 146
 Torpel manor, 10, 11, 13

- Tottel, Richard, 25, 124, 130
 Towneley, *Secunda Pastorum*, 101
Troilus, Grimald, 117
Troylous and Pandor, Cornish, 107, 117, 170
 Twyford, Sgt., 11

 Udall, Nicholas, 51, 60, 62

 Van Wilder, Philip, 15
 Vårgas, 56
Vice, 87, 88, 90, 96, 99, 122
 Virginals, 12, 14
Visibili Monarchia Ecclesia, De, 67

 Wakefield plays, 80
Weather, Play of the, Heywood, 27, 57, 58, 81, 93, 95-100, 107, 108, 109, 119
 Webbe, Wm., 75

 Westcott, Sebastian, 16, 44, 49, 53, 62, 119
 Westminster school, 49
 Whederykke, John, 32
 Wicliffe, 147
 Wilson, Thos., 67, 68, 69, 70, 73, 75, 133
 Windsor chapel, 49, 50, 51
Wit and Folly, see *Witty and Willess*
Wit and Science, Redford, 54, 121, 125
Witty and Willess, Heywood, 7, 34, 81-85, 90, 91, 93, 94, 136, 152
 Wolsey, Cardinal, 5, 23, 31, 47-48, 50, 51, 109
Women, Interlude of, 20
Works, Heywood, 63, 123
 Wyatt's Rebellion, 129, 144, 145

Ye be welcome, Heywood's song, 128
 York plays, 80
Youth, Interlude of, 100, 121

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